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PART I



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# CHURCH HISTORY

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## THE PARVIN-BRIGHAM MISSION TO SPANISH AMERICA, 1823-1826

J. ORIN OLIPHANT

*Bucknell University, Lewisburg, Pa.*

Slowly during the years just preceding our War of 1812, and rapidly during the decade that followed the Peace of Ghent, the vast reaches of Latin America swam within the ken of the people of the United States. Of this "discovery" of our southern neighbors and of our relations with Latin America before 1830, we have learned much from a volume recently brought out by a distinguished historian of the United States, Professor Arthur P. Whitaker.<sup>1</sup> Professor Whitaker's informing study was intended to be nothing less than a well-rounded history of the impact of Latin America upon the United States to 1830; and such it has proved to be—with one exception. Professor Whitaker completely overlooked the religious phase of the subject he otherwise treated so skillfully. Upon this neglected part of the history of our early relations with Latin America this paper will endeavor to throw some light.

The period of the political emancipation of Latin America, say from 1810 to 1825, was a period of unusual interest in the religious history of both Great Britain and the United States; for this was the period during which the modern missionary movement was coming of age. Inspired by the example of British Christians and stimulated by a zeal born of an era of religious revivals in the United States, American Christians soon brought into being an almost bewildering array of agencies for the dissemination of the gospel—Bible societies, tract societies, home and foreign missionary societies, Sunday school societies, and societies for promoting theological education. By the middle of the 1820's the pattern of such organization was fairly complete. Nor was this all. The propaganda that had stimulated organization had also clarified purpose, giving both British and American Christians the concept that their field was the world, and had fired them with the belief that the conversion of

<sup>1</sup> Arthur P. Whitaker, *The United States and the Independence of Latin America, 1800-1830* (Baltimore, 1941).

the world within a foreseeable period of time was their goal. With an eagerness almost astonishing Christians in the United States laid hold of the idea of the conversion of the world, an idea which, when it became charged with the emotion of an upsurging American nationalism, burgeoned forth as a conviction that God was raising up a powerful American republic to play a significant rôle in the redemption of a sin-ruined world. Out of this conviction came an extraordinary religious crusade that was well under way in the United States as the decade of the 1830's opened.<sup>2</sup>

In a time of such religious excitement, the picture of Spanish America struggling to achieve political freedom was unrolling before the eyes of Protestant Americans.<sup>3</sup> That Christians in the United States were deeply stirred by this spectacle, little argument should be needed to demonstrate. Their patriotic pride was flattered by the thought that other Americans were following their example in casting off the chains of European bondage; their religious feelings were likewise stirred by the thought that at long last millions in the New World were in the way of freeing themselves from papal tyranny.<sup>4</sup> For Protestants in the United States took it for granted that the successful outcome of the wars of liberation in Spanish America would mean the complete emancipation of Spanish Americans: the *real patronato* would crumble, state and church would separate, and religious toleration would prevail once the monopolistic system of Spain lay in ruins. Thus with the coming of freedom to Spanish America there would be opened to the bearers of the "true" gospel a vast new field of labor in the former colonies of Spain; and Christians in the United States, fully aware of the obligations of good neighborhood, would claim this field as their very own. Indeed, in the high optimism of the middle years of the 1820's the thought occasionally found expression in the United States that the American republics, both Spanish and English, could by

2 On this subject see J. Orin Oliphant, "The American Missionary Spirit, 1828-1835," *Church History*, VII (June, 1938), 125-137.

3 See especially Whitaker, *Latin America*, chaps. 5 and 6.

4 Typical of many expressions of Protestant opinion in the United States at that time is the following: "The revolution in South America has already greatly weakened the power of the pope in that country, and from the following remarks of the Rev. Mr. Brigham, in the last number of the *Missionary Herald*, it seems probable that a blow will soon be given, which will sever the Western Continent forever from his dominion. Let our Bible and Tract Societies be well supported, and the emancipation of the southern republics will soon be completed. . . ." Editorial, "Popery in South America," *New York Observer*, November 11, 1826.

united effort exert, under the influence of "pure" Christianity, a mighty force to hasten the coming of the day of world-wide regeneration.<sup>5</sup>

The first expression of the concern of Christians in the United States for the religious reformation of Latin America found outlet in the Bible movement; and, inasmuch as the Bible movement in the United States took form in the early years of the nineteenth century in obvious imitation of the Bible movement in Great Britain, if not in downright dependence upon it, it follows that the first effort of Protestants to provide Latin America with Bibles was an Anglo-American effort. As early as 1807 the British and Foreign Bible Society began making small appropriations of Bibles for Latin America, and soon thereafter it was co-operating with Bible societies in the United States in distributing the Scriptures to the Spanish-speaking inhabitants of Louisiana and to Spanish-speaking people elsewhere in the Americas.<sup>6</sup> Meantime Christians on the Atlantic seaboard of the United States, in part as a result of the reports of agents who had explored in their behalf their own West and Southwest, were becoming increasingly aware of their Spanish-speaking neighbors.<sup>7</sup> From one such report, thanks at least in part to the

5 During the decade of the 1820's, Christians in the United States were much less interested in Brazil than in Spanish America. The probable reasons therefor may be stated as follows: (1) Brazil, unlike Spanish America, was not subjected to a long struggle for liberation, a struggle that could be likened to the war the English colonies fought for their liberation; and (2), from the standpoint of Christian patriots in the United States, Brazil did not actually become "emancipated," for after its separation from Portugal a member of the House of Braganza still ruled as Emperor Pedro I of Brazil. Brazil, therefore, though it was in the Americas, was very definitely not of the family of American republics. Consequently, in those years expressions of dislike of "despotic" Brazil appeared not infrequently in religious periodical publications in the United States; and the belief was voiced again and again that, even though Pedro I might not go the way of Iturbide in Mexico, nevertheless, in the words of Ashbel Green, "eventually and before long" there would be "no emperor on the American continent." *Christian Advocate*, III (July, 1825), 336. Observe also the following expressions of opinion on this subject: "This enemy to civil liberty, Don Pedro I will, in all probability, also, be the last crowned head on our continent." *Magazine of the Reformed Dutch Church*, I (June, 1826), 72. "It is but a few days since the news arrived of a splendid victory gained by the patriots of the Banda Oriental over the arms of despotic Brazil." *Boston Recorder & Telegraph*, December 30, 1825.

6 The *Reports* of the British and Foreign Bible Society, from 1807 through the decade of the 1820's, contain much information on this subject. These *Reports* also, after 1808, contain much information on the activities of the earliest Bible societies in the United States.

7 John F. Schermerhorn and Samuel J. Mills, *A Correct View of that Part of the United States which Lies West of the Allegany Mountains, with Regard to Religion and Morals* (Hartford, 1814), and Samuel J. Mills and Daniel Smith, *Report of a Missionary Tour through that Part of the United States which Lies*

vision of Samuel J. Mills, came the pertinent suggestion that, in the event that Spanish America should achieve political emancipation, the printing of Spanish Bibles for distribution in New Spain and in South America would be an important work for Bible societies in the United States.<sup>8</sup> From this time onward until his untimely death, Mills retained his interest in Spanish America, and while the movement in the United States for nationalizing the cause of Bible distribution was in progress, a movement which he actively supported, Mills helped to gain wider acceptance by his countrymen of the thought that Spanish America should be regarded as a region of special concern to the churches in the United States.<sup>9</sup> Certain it is that the American Bible Society was formed in May, 1816, in the expectation that Latin America would be an important part of its field of operations;<sup>10</sup> and such expectation this society soon was attempting to realize. With the encouragement of the British and Foreign Bible Society, the American Bible Society began forming plans for large-scale operations throughout the western hemisphere. By 1819 it had brought out a Spanish edition of the New Testament,<sup>11</sup> and by 1823 it had made a contract for the printing of an edition of the entire Bible in Spanish.<sup>12</sup> In the last-named year this society announced that "new fields of usefulness" were opening for it in the islands of the Caribbean and in the Spanish-speaking parts of both North and South America.<sup>13</sup>

Meanwhile, several religious denominations in the United States had brought Latin America within the range of their missionary planning. In 1817, by the co-operation of the Presbyterian, the Dutch Reformed and the Associate Reformed churches, there was formed an association, the United Foreign Missionary Society, whose constitution specifically mentioned

*West of the Allegany Mountains* . . . (Andover, 1815). Some account of the observations of Schermerhorn and Mills may be found in the "Report of the Trustees" of the Massachusetts Missionary Society, *Panoplist* X (June, 1814), 281-285. On the Mills-Smith mission, see *ibid.*, XI (May and June, 1815), 224-233, 273-284.

8 British and Foreign Bible Society, *Tenth Report, 1814*, in *Reports of the British and Foreign Bible Society*, III (London, 1815), appendix, p. 149.

9 On Mills's efforts in this cause, see, in general, Gardiner Spring, *Memoirs of the Rev. Samuel J. Mills* . . . (New York, 1820). See also the sketch of Mills in the *Dictionary of American Biography*, XIII, 15-16.

10 Acetes, "On the part which America is to take in evangelizing the world," *Panoplist*, n.s., IV, (February, 1812), 399-400; N., "General Bible Society," *ibid.*, X, (March, 1814), 120.

11 American Bible Society, *Third Report, 1819* (New York, 1819), 12.

12 A. B. S., *Seventh Report, 1823* (New York, 1823), 8.

13 *Ibid.*, 26.

"Mexico and South America" as regions in which this society intended to operate.<sup>14</sup> And although the United Foreign Missionary Society lost its identity within a decade by merging with the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, a merger effected before it had established a mission anywhere in Latin America, it nevertheless had kept before a large part of the religious public in the United States all Latin America as a potential field of missionary labor for the churches in the United States.

It should now be clear that, by the opening years of the 1820's, Latin American had made a decided impression upon religious groups in the United States. Such groups had become much interested in their southern neighbors, especially in those who were Spanish-speaking. Christians in the United States were then groping toward a conception of an American community co-extensive with the limits of the western hemisphere, and were fast becoming aware of their responsibility to share the greatest of their blessings with their less favored brethren in the other American republics. But as yet they had no information of their own gathering on Spanish America. No agent of the American Bible Society, no agent of any missionary society in the United States, had as yet traversed the southern American continent and brought back assurance that Protestant missions would there be well received.<sup>15</sup> The exploration preliminary to the establishment of a mission anywhere in that field remained to be done, and the cost of such an exploration would heavily burden the treasury of any American missionary society except one. Only the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, a society formed in 1810 and ten years later well established, could support such an undertaking, and its decision to do so was an event of no slight importance in the history of inter-American religious relations.

By the summer of 1823 the first religious mission from the United States to South America was ready to depart. On July

14 Ashbel Green, *Presbyterian Missions, with Supplemental Notes by John C. Lowrie* (New York, c. 1893), 39. See also Spring, *Memoirs of the Rev. Samuel J. Mills*, chap. 6.

15 Gardiner Spring asserts that Samuel J. Mills had planned to make a tour of South America, and Spring regrets that Mills did not undertake such a mission. "We hope," Spring continues, "that the time is not far distant, when two or more men will traverse the whole of this dreary wilderness, and return with a report that will wake up the American Church to a sympathy for the miseries of her perishing neighbours." *Memoirs of the Rev. Samuel J. Mills*, 105.



25 of that year two young men, Theophilus Parvin and John C. Brigham, the former from Princeton Theological Seminary and the latter from Andover Theological Seminary, sailed from Boston for Buenos Aires with a commission from the American Board to explore Spanish America.<sup>16</sup> They were instructed to reside for several months in Buenos Aires, then to cross overland to Chile, and thence to travel up the west coast of South America to the Isthmus of Panama. From Panama they were to go on to Mexico, and from that country they were to return home by way of Santa Fé and the Indian missions of the Board on the Arkansas River. It was fully understood, however, that unforeseen circumstances might require them to depart somewhat from this itinerary. The duties with which they were charged were not limited by any narrow conception of interest. From a summary of their instructions<sup>17</sup> we learn that

Their inquiries will relate to every subject, which may have a bearing on the moral and religious state of the people. They will endeavor to ascertain whether the Bible can be freely distributed; how it is received; what is the effect of its introduction among those, who had never before possessed it; whether tracts could be circulated, and would be read; what is the progress of education among the common people; what are their circumstances; how they regard improvements; in what manner they will receive religious instruction; how far the principles of religious toleration are likely to prevail; and what are the most eligible places for making evangelical exertions of a permanent character. They will probably be able to make arrangements for the distribution of Bibles and tracts from depositories, which can be regularly supplied hereafter.

Thus we see that the object of this mission was an inquiry into the practicability of evangelization in Spanish America by one agency or by several of the agencies then approved by Protestants for that purpose. Indeed, the unity of purpose underlying the several agencies of gospel dissemination could hardly have been better illustrated than on this occasion, for in aid of this mission the American Bible Society donated five hundred copies of the New Testament in Spanish, and the British and Foreign Bible Society, through the good offices of Robert Ralston of Philadelphia, made available to it one hundred and ninety-five copies of the entire Bible in Spanish. Also, for the use of this mission, the New York Tract Society sent two thousand Spanish tracts to Buenos Aires.<sup>18</sup>

16 "Survey of Missionary Stations," *Missionary Herald*, XX (January, 1824), 4.

17 American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, *Report, 1823* (Boston, 1823), 129-130.

18 *Ibid.*, 130.

On October 24, 1823, Parvin and Brigham arrived in Buenos Aires, and there they both remained for a year, occupying this time in learning Spanish, in ministering to the Protestant population in that city, in distributing Bibles and tracts, and in gathering information on the Plata country and its inhabitants. They opened in Buenos Aires a Sunday School for Protestant children, and in March, 1824, Parvin, with the support of Caesar A. Rodney, American minister to Buenos Aires, started an academy in that city. From the numerous communications that these men sent to the United States it was clear that they believed that they had entered a field worth cultivating. They gave the impression that the spirit of tolerance in the Plata country was increasing, and that from Buenos Aires as a center Protestant influences might be made to radiate so as to bring about a complete moral reformation of a vast region. So confident, indeed, was Parvin of the future of the work upon which he was entering that before the year was out he requested that another missionary be sent to assist him. Also he expressed the belief that a young woman qualified to conduct a school for girls would be a valuable asset to the mission. All this information the American Board publicized extensively and sympathetically in the United States.<sup>19</sup>

In the meantime Parvin and Brigham had agreed, with the approval of the American Board, that Parvin should remain in Buenos Aires and that Brigham alone should continue the tour of Spanish America that the Board had authorized.<sup>20</sup> Accordingly, on October 20, 1824, Brigham set out on an overland journey to Chile, going by way of Mendoza. From Chile he went to Lima and subsequently to Guayaquil, from which latter place he took ship to Acapulco. From Acapulco he traveled overland to Mexico City, where he arrived late in December, 1825. Two months later he was in Vera Cruz, and at this port on March 18 he embarked for New Orleans.<sup>21</sup> He arrived in New York in time to attend the anniversaries of the American Bible Society and the American Tract Society in May, 1826.<sup>22</sup>

19 *Missionary Herald*, XX (March—December, 1824), *passim*; "Mr. Brigham's Remarks on Buenos Ayres," *ibid.*, XXI (February—April, 1825), 43-48, 72-78, 109-110; *ibid.*, XXI (June, 1825), 176-177; A. B. C. F. M., *Report, 1824* (Boston, 1824), 127-128.

20 A. B. C. F. M., *Report, 1824* (Boston, 1824), 128.

21 *Missionary Herald*, XXII, (February—March, 1826), 42, 79; A. B. C. F. M., *Report, 1826* (Boston, 1826), 100-101.

22 A. B. S., *Tenth Report, 1826* (New York, 1826), p. vi; *Missionary Herald*, XXII, (June, 1826), 192-193.

During the course of his long journey from Buenos Aires to Vera Cruz, Brigham had endeavored to carry out faithfully the instructions he had received from the American Board. These instructions, it will be recalled, were as broad as the missionary cause itself, and Brigham in carrying them out was not so much an agent of the American Board in the narrow sense of the term as he was a messenger from the Protestant churches in the United States to the people of Spanish America. Among other things, as we have seen, he was charged specifically with the task of inquiring as to the opportunities for Bible distribution in the lands that he visited, and, as he himself soon discovered, this turned out to be the most important of the labors he performed. Hence we observe that his letters to the American Bible Society—letters from Chile, from Peru, from Ecuador, and from Mexico—were frequent, full, and informing.<sup>23</sup> As to this phase of his mission, his observations were on the whole encouraging: so much so, indeed, that in an address<sup>24</sup> to the American Bible Society in 1826 he could say that

God has clearly marked out a work for us. He has reared up this blessed Society at the very moment when he was breaking the rod of their oppressor, and scattering the clouds of superstition which had so long enveloped them. Revelation itself could hardly make it clearer than his Providence has made it, that we are now called upon to aid our brethren at the south, in giving them the holy scriptures. . . .

Nevertheless, as an agent of the American Board, Brigham was under a particular obligation to that organization, an obligation which he attempted to discharge after his return home by submitting to it a comprehensive report of his mission.

His report to the Prudential Committee of the Board, published in full in the *Missionary Herald*, is a revealing document,<sup>25</sup> revealing not only because it imparted new knowledge of Spanish America, but also because it reflected so faithfully the Protestant mind in the United States of Brigham's generation. It drew a contrast between the heritage of Anglo-Saxon America and that of Spanish America, and in this contrast it found an

23 Copious extracts from letters Brigham wrote to the American Bible Society between March 20, 1825, and March 17, 1826, are published in A. B. S., *Tenth Report*, 1826 (New York, 1826), 48-51.

24 From the text as published in *Tenth Anniversary of the American Bible Society*, No. 47 (August, 1826), 17.

25 "Mr. Brigham's Report Respecting the Religious State of Spanish America. To the Prudential Committee of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions," *Missionary Herald*, XXII (October-November, 1826), 297-302, 337-344.

explanation for the happy condition of the former and for the degraded condition of the latter. On the one hand there had been freedom, on the other, repression. But a reformation had begun in Spanish America, the progress whereof was in "exact proportion" to the time that each of the Spanish-speaking republics had enjoyed civil liberty. There was, therefore, a good prospect that the abuses perpetrated by Spanish and papal tyranny would be removed, but time would be required to bring about this desired result. Religious reformation would surely come to all the former colonies of Spain in the train of civil liberty. And in the meantime the Spanish American republics had peculiar claims upon the North American republic, for together all the American republics constituted, as against Europe, a community of nations, among whom there existed "duties peculiar and reciprocal." "If one part of this new national family should fall back under a monarchical system, the event must threaten, if not bring down evils on, the part remaining." And since it was one of the "plainest of political axioms" that a republic could not endure unless its people were enlightened and virtuous, it followed, therefore, that the people of the United States should bend their efforts to the great task of enlightening and purifying the Spanish American republics. With God's help, this they should do as "patriots and Christians." They should help their southern neighbors to educate themselves, and they should above all give them the Bible. They should pray for the conversion of Spanish America, as they were praying for the conversion of other parts of the world. They should pray that in Spanish America God would "turn and overturn, and bless this whole hemisphere, until it becomes not only the land of the free, and the asylum of the oppressed, but a habitation of righteousness, the joy and the praise of the whole earth." Such was the substance of the greater part of Brigham's report, a report of a piece with hundreds of missionary appeals of Brigham's generation. For Brigham's report was in essence a plea for missionary action, and in the United States of that era no appeal for such action was stronger—at least none was more often made—than the appeal to the patriot, the philanthropist, and the Christian.

With respect to the particular interest of the American Board in Latin America, the report of Brigham was anything but encouraging. For Brigham was firmly persuaded—and

Parvin also held this view<sup>26</sup>—that “the time for preaching the Gospel to Catholics in these countries seems not to have arrived.” “Such a measure,” Brigham declared

in most places, would be opposed, as yet, to articles of their constitution, and would create such excitement among the lower orders, that the most liberal enlightened statesmen would discourage it. Although there are many individuals in South America, who have noble and expanded views on all subjects, men who are up with the spirit of the age, still there is in that field a putrid mass of superstition, on which the sun of liberty must shine still longer before we can safely enter in and labor. . . . We must wait patiently a little longer, till the Ruler of nations, who has wrought such wonders in those countries the last ten years, shall open still wider the way, and bid us go forward.<sup>27</sup>

To the American Board this was indeed a chilling blast. Inasmuch as that body had been incorporated “for the purpose of propagating the gospel in heathen lands, by supporting missionaries and diffusing a knowledge of the Holy Scriptures,”<sup>28</sup> it now appeared that Latin America was effectually closed to its operations. Indeed, there was a nice question as to whether the Board could legally operate at all in Latin America. Could the Catholic countries of Latin America, whatever the popular conception of Roman Catholicism in Protestant America may then have been, rightly be considered “heathen lands”? Would not such a contention have been rejected in any court in any civilized country?<sup>29</sup> However that may be, the American Board forthwith washed its hands of the Latin American affair, and both Parvin and Brigham dissolved their connection with the Board.<sup>30</sup>

What, then, is the significance of the Parvin-Brigham mission? Is the history of this mission merely a footnote to a page of the early history of inter-American relations, and hence worthy only of being forgotten? That this mission has been pretty well forgotten, there is no need to deny, but that it is without meaning one should hesitate to affirm. For if it be considered trivial and insignificant, then the first chapter of the history

26 A. B. C. F. M., *Report, 1826* (Boston, 1826), 101.

27 *Missionary Herald*, XXII (November, 1826), 341.

28 The act of incorporation is reproduced in [Rufus Anderson], *Memorial Volume of the First Fifty Years of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions* (Boston, 1861), 405-407.

29 Rufus Anderson, the learned senior secretary of the American Board, bypassed this issue years later when he wrote as follows: “Perhaps the Board might properly have extended its missions into some of the more benighted parts of the Roman Catholic world. It did no more, however, than explore a considerable portion of South America in the years 1823-1826.” *Ibid.*, 80.

30 A. B. C. F. M., *Report, 1826* (Boston, 1826), 99-101.



of our religious intercourse with Latin America must be so regarded, for that chapter is little more than a record of disillusionment and of initial failure. Whatever the final verdict may be, certain immediate effects of this mission can easily be traced, and of the long-time effect a more or less pertinent suggestion can be offered.

First of all, the Parvin-Brigham mission gave to Protestant Christians in the United States, and to Presbyterians especially, what at first appeared to be a firm foothold in the Plata region of South America. For in Buenos Aires, it will be recalled, Parvin had elected to remain while his companion continued the tour which they both had been commissioned to make. Before the end of the year 1825, Parvin had returned to the United States, not to remain, but to make preparations for more extensive operations in his mission field. On January 6, 1826, he was ordained as an evangelist by the Presbytery of Philadelphia, in a ceremony over which the distinguished Dr. Ashbel Green, former president of Princeton College, presided; and the same evening he was married to the eldest daughter of Caesar A. Rodney, minister from the United States who had lately died at his post in Buenos Aires.<sup>31</sup> A few weeks later Parvin sailed for Buenos Aires with his wife and with Miss Sarah McMullin, a young woman from Philadelphia whom he had induced to join his mission as teacher of a school for girls. Parvin returned to Buenos Aires at his own expense, and as an independent missionary he was free to determine his course of action. His principal concern was the operation of an academy in Buenos Aires, from which labor he hoped to derive his support; but he intended also to preach and to promote in other ways the cause of Protestantism in the Plata country.<sup>32</sup>

From the time Parvin resumed his labors in Buenos Aires, Presbyterians in the United States could feel, and many of them did feel, that this mission was their mission. The words of Dr. Ashbel Green, uttered about the time of Parvin's departure from the United States in 1826, were true words. "We take a deep interest in this mission," he wrote, "and follow it with our earnest prayers that it may be attended with signal success."<sup>33</sup> Before the end of another year William Torrey, a young Presby-

31 See the brief sketch of Rodney in the *Dictionary of American Biography*, XVI, 82-83.

32 *Christian Advocate*, IV (February, 1826), 94-95.

33 *Ibid.*, 95.

terian minister, had sailed from the United States at his own expense to join Parvin in the latter's labors.<sup>34</sup> So impressed was one person by this example of disinterested benevolence that from Princeton on November 27, 1826, he wrote for the *Christian Advocate* an article in which he urged the formation in Philadelphia, Baltimore, or New York of a society for the support of missionaries in South America. He believed that ministers could be found for such work if money were made available for their support. He appealed not only to religious, but also to patriotic sentiments, dismissing as unworthy of American Christians and patriots the thought that the regeneration of South America should be left to the Christian benevolence of the British people. "Surely Christians of our highly favored country," he exclaimed, "connected as we are, by such interesting political ties, will come forward to give this people a more important freedom than they yet enjoy—freedom from superstition and sin;—the liberty of the sons of God."<sup>35</sup> For some years thereafter the mission in Buenos Aires was the focal point of interest in South America for Presbyterians in the United States,<sup>36</sup> and the enthusiasm that it stimulated might well have led to an extensive Presbyterian effort in that area had not Christians in the United States generally by 1830 become persuaded that they had misjudged the Spanish American situation; that Spanish Americans after all were not yet desirous of being emancipated from "superstition and sin." The Buenos Aires mission soon disintegrated, and as late as 1838 the prospect for missionary work in that area still looked dark and gloomy to Ashbel Green.<sup>37</sup>

Brigham, meanwhile, had not been inattentive either to the educational or to the religious needs of Spanish America. During his residence in Buenos Aires he had written to the American Board of the pressing need in South America for a textbook in Spanish on elementary geography, and on this observation the editor of the *Missionary Herald* had remarked that such a

34 *New York Observer*, April 28, 1827, quoting from the *Philadelphian*; *Christian Advocate*, V (January, 1827), 38.

35 "R. B.", in the *Christian Advocate*, V (January, 1827), 39.

36 "The Christian Gazette states, that several Ladies, in Philadelphia, have associated, for the purpose of aiding the mission to South America." *Boston Recorder*, May 8, 1824. See especially the matter pertaining to the Board of Missions of the General Assembly, in 1827 and 1828, in the *Christian Advocate*, V (September, 1827), 475, and *ibid.*, VI (April-November, 1828), 183-184, 262, 420-422, 476, 516.

37 A very brief history of this mission may be found in Ashbel Green, *Presbyterian Missions*, 85-89.

work "might be very serviceable to the interests of religion by its indirect influence."<sup>38</sup> After his return to the United States, this subject seems to have weighed so heavily on his mind that Brigham let it crowd permanently from his thought any desire he may have had to bring out a volume on his travels through the Spanish American republics.<sup>39</sup> However that may be, he did bring out in New York in 1827, in collaboration with Sidney Edwin Morse, a son of the widely known "father of American geography," Jedidiah Morse, a little book in Spanish on ancient and modern geography.<sup>40</sup> This work was dedicated by its authors to the people of South America "*con la mayor consideracion*." Whether or not extensive use was made of it in Spanish America, it would now be difficult to find out.

Certainly more important for Spanish America than his labors on an elementary geography was the continuing influence of the work upon which Brigham entered a few weeks after he had completed his tour. Upon his return to the United States, as we have seen, he dissolved his connection with the American Board; and in July of 1826 he accepted an appointment as assistant secretary of the American Bible Society,<sup>41</sup> thus beginning what was destined to be a long and distinguished career in the service of that organization.<sup>42</sup> Because of the friendships that he had formed in Spanish America and because of the knowledge of the Spanish language that he had there acquired, he was in a peculiarly fortunate position to gain new information about the Spanish American republics and to interpret for the American Bible Society the trend of events in the Spanish-speaking part of the New World. Nor was this service the full extent of his labors to promote the Protestant cause in Spanish-speaking America. We are told by one of his biographers that the establishment of chaplaincies at several ports in South America by the Seamen's Friend Society, an organization which Brig-

38 *Missionary Herald*, XX (December, 1824), 377.

39 In the "Survey of Missionary Stations," *Missionary Herald*, XXIII (January, 1827), 11, it is said of Brigham that a "particular account of his whole tour is preparing for publication in a separate volume." If such a volume was ever published, the present writer has found no trace of it.

40 Juan C. Brigham y S. E. Morse, *Nuevo Sistema de Geographia, Antigua y Moderna, con diez y ocho Laminas y cuatro Mapas* (Nueva York, 1827). The sketch of S. E. Morse in the *Dictionary of American Biography*, XIII, 251-252, makes no mention of Morse's having collaborated with Brigham in bringing out the above-mentioned volume.

41 A. B. S., Minutes of the Board of Managers [Ms.], III, 302.

42 See the remarks on Brigham in A. B. S., *Forty-Seventh Annual Report* (New York, 1863), in *Annual Reports of the American Bible Society* . . . , III, 795-796.

ham long served as an officer, was the direct result of his efforts.<sup>43</sup>

But however interesting the personal labors of Parvin and Brigham in behalf of Spanish America may have been after the completion of Brigham's tour, the greater immediate significance of their mission lay elsewhere—in the realm of religious propaganda. More than anything else, we may confidently believe, the Parvin-Brigham mission operated to fix securely Latin America in the pattern of religious thought that was then developing in the United States with respect to the conversion of the world. Confident as they were in the later years of the 1820's that God was rapidly opening doors everywhere for the entrance of his gospel, and firm as they were in the belief that their national resources and their system of Christian benevolence were becoming adequate to any mission for which they were divinely destined, Christians in the United States read with greater optimism than Parvin and Brigham had perhaps intended they should the letters from these first messengers of the churches in the United States to Spanish America.<sup>44</sup> True, they had been explicitly told by these messengers that Spanish America was not yet ready to receive the gospel from the lips of Protestant preachers; that time would be needed to break the bonds of ignorance and of superstition that for long centuries had fettered the Spanish American people. But Christians in the United States were then in a mood to believe that God was hastening the time of the coming of his kingdom, and that the day for spirited action by them in Spanish America was dawning. Doubtless a representative of the American Board pretty accurately reflected a view of thousands of his country-men when, in a "Retrospect of the Year 1826," he wrote as follows:<sup>45</sup>

From the young, but growing republics of Spanish America, a messenger of the churches has, during the past year, returned with good tidings:—not, indeed, that a wide door and effectual, is opened to the ministers of a pure religion; not that numerous souls in that extended region are rejoicing beneath the effusions of the Holy Spirit;—but that a vast amount of mind

43 William Adams, *Life and Services of Rev. John C. Brigham, D. D., Late Corresponding Secretary of the American Bible Society*. . . (New York, 1863), 18-19.

44 The favorable reports that came from Buenos Aires seemed to confirm favorable views of the situation in another part of South America. For example, a correspondent of the *New York Religious Chronicle* affirmed that "the way is almost as well prepared for the introduction of missionaries from North America to the Republic of Colombia, as from the Atlantic to the Western States." *Boston Recorder*, April 17, 1824.

45 *Missionary Herald*, XXIII (January, 1827), 17.

has been broken from the shackles of the ages; that intelligence is springing into life and activity, and that public opinion, all over that land, has felt the pulsations of liberty, has heard the command to go forward, and has commenced its resistless march. From the advancement of society, we expect that degree of religious toleration, both in the laws and in the general feeling, which will give scope and efficacy to the operations of Protestant benevolence.

So it fell out that the spirit of optimism prevailed over the spirit of caution, and Spanish America as a promising field for missionary labor was played up to the Protestant churches in the United States at the very time when the missionary movement in the United States was assuming the proportions of a great crusade. Consequently, for a little while Spanish America became to many Christians in the United States a subject of almost as much concern as their own unevangelized West.<sup>46</sup> And surely not a few Christians in the United States who were so aroused saw, in the presence in them both of the obstacle of Roman Catholicism, a grim likeness of one of these fields of labor to the other.<sup>47</sup>

The quickening influence of the communications of Parvin and Brigham, as these communications were released in official publications of the American Board and of the American Bible Society, was felt far and wide in the eastern part of the United States.<sup>48</sup> Writings that were based on the observations of these men and that disclosed a deepening interest in Spanish America as a field of Protestant missionary effort appeared in religious periodical publications published in places as widely separated from one another as Philadelphia, New York, and Boston.<sup>49</sup> And

46 The effect produced on the churches in the eastern part of the United States by the Parvin-Brigham mission to Spanish America was not unlike that produced on these same churches by the earlier missions of Schermerhorn, Mills, and Smith to our own West and Southwest. See the references cited in Note 7, *supra*.

47 On the significance of anti-Catholic feeling in the home missionary movement in the United States, see Ray A. Billington, "Anti-Catholic Propaganda and the Home Missionary Movement, 1800-1860," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, XXII (December, 1935), 361-384.

48 Not all the publicity this mission received derived from communications of Parvin or Brigham to the American Board or to the American Bible Society. For example, a letter from Parvin to the Philadelphia Mite Society, dated at "Buenos Ayres, Sept. 3, 1824," was published in the *Philadelphia Christian Gazette* and reprinted in part in the *Boston Recorder* of April 2, 1825; and a letter from William Torrey to a minister in New Castle was reprinted from the *Philadelphian* in the *New York Observer* of April 28, 1827.

49 *Boston Recorder*, February 7, April 3, and September 18, 1824, April 2, 1825, March 10 and December 8, 1826, and September 28, 1827. In some of these issues the *Recorder* reprinted material that had appeared in the *Philadelphia Christian Gazette*, the *New York Observer*, or the *New York Christian Herald*. See also references cited in Note 56, *infra*.



the response to such writings was immediate and spirited. We have already seen how the work of Parvin and of his associates in Buenos Aires centered the attention of Presbyterians in the United States upon the Plata area. It remains to show how the influence of writings about Spanish America as a field of Protestant missionary effort finally reached up to the highest Presbyterian body in the United States. The principal agency of transmission was the *Christian Advocate*,<sup>50</sup> a monthly magazine published in Philadelphia by Dr. Ashbel Green, a man whose influence in Presbyterian councils of that era no informed person would think of questioning. Not only had Dr. Green given in his magazine publicity to the Parvin-Brigham mission<sup>51</sup> and emphatic approval of Brigham's urgent request that the work of Bible distribution in the Spanish American republics be prosecuted with vigor,<sup>52</sup> but he had himself for years been a careful observer of the Latin American scene, and had from month to month been giving his readers his own interpretation of the trend of swiftly moving events in that quarter of the earth.<sup>53</sup> That the interest he had earlier acquired in the well-being of his southern neighbors was greatly enhanced by what he read and by what he published concerning the doings and the opinions of Parvin and Brigham, no one who now reads the foxed and faded pages of his magazine would deny. It should not appear remarkable, therefore, that the Board of Missions of the General Assembly, a board of which Green was a member, should have laid before the General Assembly as early as 1827 an eloquent statement of its desire to begin missionary operations in South America. South Americans, the Board asserted,

demand our aid on various accounts. They are human beings, rational and accountable creatures, and bound to the judgment seat, as well as the savages on our borders, or pagans, who live in far distant parts of the earth. They are our near neighbours, with whom we shall probably have much commercial intercourse; and consequently, we are likely to be nationally affected by their destiny. Should they come under the controlling power of pure religion, they and we may, in some future day, when the population of the two Americas shall have greatly increased, put forth a mighty influence in bringing forth that glorious day of light, peace, and religion, which is to bless this wretched world. In these circumstances, the Board wish, under

50 This magazine ran through twelve volumes, 1823-1834.

51 *Christian Advocate*, II (November, 1824), 522; IV (February, 1826), 94-95; VI (January and April, 1828), 41-42, 183-184.

52 See his article entitled "Southern America," *Christian Advocate*, IV (December, 1826), 562-563.

53 See his monthly "View of Publick Affairs," *Christian Advocate*, 1823-1834.

the patronage and with the assistance of the General Assembly, to undertake a mission or missions, in favour of our brethren in South America.

The Board feel encouraged to embark in this enterprise, by other considerations than those already mentioned. The Bible Society of this city is forming a fund for the purpose of furnishing South America with Bibles. The Presbytery of Philadelphia, and the Presbytery of Hudson, have each a member now laboring in that destitute portion of this vast continent; and two individuals are willing to support a mission among its benighted inhabitants, to the amount of 500 dollars annually.<sup>54</sup>

Enthusiasm such as that which has just been revealed would ordinarily have been the prelude to aggressive missionary action, but in this case action was withheld because presently Presbyterian leaders learned, as leaders of other denominations in the United States were simultaneously learning, that religious reformation in Spanish America was being opposed, in the words of Dr. Green, by forces "deeply seated in the state of society and the habits of the people."<sup>55</sup>

Of the influence of the Parvin-Brigham mission on the missionary propaganda of denominations in the United States other than the Presbyterian, the record is less clear. That this mission had been widely advertised in the United States there can be no doubt,<sup>56</sup> and that denominations other than the Presbyterian were affected by this advertising as well as by the interest in Latin America exhibited by undenominational societies, such as the American Bible Society and the American Tract Society, with which several denominations were affiliated, we may well believe. Certain it is that for several years after 1823, and emphatically for a few years after 1825, a rising interest in missions to Spanish America can clearly be observed in the activities of the missionary bodies or in the periodical publications of the Baptists,<sup>57</sup> the Episcopalians,<sup>58</sup> and the Methodists.<sup>59</sup> To some extent the

54 *Christian Advocate*, V (September, 1827), 474-475.

55 Ashbel Green, *Presbyterian Missions*, 89.

56 For example, the Baptist *Latter Day Luminary*, VI (February, 1825), 53, contains an account of the Parvin-Brigham mission. Also, the *American Baptist Magazine*, VII (April, 1827), 109-116, reprinted from the *Missionary Herald* a considerable portion of Brigham's final report to the Prudential Committee of the American Board, and this same magazine had published earlier, V (April, 1825), 125, a brief notice of an edition of the Spanish Bible, recently printed for the American Bible Society. Furthermore, it should be remembered that the persons responsible for the affairs of one missionary society regularly read the publications of other missionary societies.

57 *Latter Day Luminary*, IV (June, 1823), 182-183, and V (June, 1824), 172-173; Baptist General Convention, *Proceedings of the Fifth Triennial Meeting, 1826* (Boston, 1826), 23, and *Proceedings of the Sixth Triennial Meeting, 1829* (Boston, 1829), 30.

58 William Stevens Perry, *Journals of the General Convention of the Protestant*

same thing could be said of the Dutch Reformed Church.<sup>60</sup> But by 1830 most of this enthusiasm had subsided without having produced immediate tangible results. Even the efforts of the Bible and tract societies had not been altogether rewarding. Indeed, before 1830, the work of the American Bible Society in Spanish America had been dealt a staggering blow by the decision of that society, following once again the lead of the British and Foreign Bible Society, to exclude the Apocryphal books from its Spanish edition of the Bible.<sup>61</sup> Thus by the opening of the 1830's the first chapter of the history of our religious intercourse with Latin America was ending, and it was ending on a note of disillusionment. Very definitely the door to Protestant missionary enterprise in Spanish America was not yet open.

Yet there was a long-time effect of the Parvin-Brigham mission to Spanish America that should not be lost sight of in the upsurge of early disillusionment. The end was not yet. With the passing years new happenings provided material for additional chapters of the history of Protestant missionary activity in Latin America. Never again was Latin America *terra incognita* to the churches in the United States; never during their long years of relative inactivity in that region after 1830 did Christians in the United States completely lose their interest in their southern neighbors. After the Presbyterians withdrew from Buenos Aires, the Methodists moved in,<sup>62</sup> and in the long lapse of time the Methodists spread their influence far and wide in Latin America.<sup>63</sup> Nor could the American Bible Society, with Brigham a member of its secretarial staff, forget that it had very early assumed particular obligations with respect to Latin Amer-

*Episcopal Church, in the United States, 1785-1855* (Claremont, N. H., 1874), II, 179-180, 321; Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America, *Proceedings of the Board of Directors . . . , together with the Report of the Executive Committee, 1828* (Philadelphia, 1828), 17-18; *Episcopal Watchman* (Hartford, Conn.), April 2 and April 9, 1827, February 4 and February 11, 1828, and May 16 and June 20, 1829. 59 "Proceedings of General Conference [1828]," *Methodist Magazine*, XI (July, 1828), 272.

60 An enthusiastic picture of "an extensive harvest whitening before the reaper's eye" in South America and an expression of belief that that land should be taken possession of "by the gospel of Christ" appeared in the *Magazine of the Reformed Dutch Church*, II (November, 1827), 254.

61 A. B. S., *Twelfth Annual Report, 1828* (May, 1828), 34, and *Thirteenth Annual Report, 1829* (New York, 1829), 48.

62 Elizabeth M. Lee, and Alfred W. Wasson, *The Latin American Circuit* (New York, c. 1942), 59. Cf. "Datos referentes a los comienzos del culto protestante en Buenos Aires," por Andrés M. Milne, in Inés Milne, *Desde el Cabo de Hornos hasta Quito con la Biblia* (Buenos Aires, 1944), 6.

63 *Ibid.*, *passim*.

ica. The opening in 1864 of the Plata agency of that society, an event which Brigham did not live to witness, was not unrelated to the plea that Brigham had made on his return to the United States nearly forty years earlier. And in the long and successful labors of Andrew Murray Milne,<sup>64</sup> agent in South America for the American Bible Society between 1864 and 1907, there was at least partial fulfillment of Brigham's hopes for the Spanish American republics. Today it is of interest to observe that of the twelve foreign agencies of the American Bible Society seven are situated in Latin America.<sup>65</sup>

We have here given, it is true, but a brief suggestion of the lengthened influence of the Parvin-Brigham mission. But when a critical, full-length history of the missionary efforts in Latin America of all the Protestant denominations and of all the Protestant undenominational societies in the United States is written, that mission may well take on a significance that we can now only faintly grasp.

64 The book by Inés Milne, cited above, contains much information about Milne and his work. There is a brief tribute to the labors of Milne in A. B. S., *Ninety-Second Annual Report, 1908* (New York, 1908), 25.

65 *Bible Society Record*, LXXXIX (November, 1944). See inside back cover.

## THE SCOTTISH COUNTER-REFORMATION BEFORE 1560

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When one speaks of the Counter-Reformation in Scotland, we usually think of it as something which appeared after 1560.<sup>1</sup> To do that, however, is to regard the Scottish Counter-Reformation as principally post-Reformation, and also as inspired entirely by the Council of Trent. Such an interpretation fails to take into account the very determined efforts made by the Scottish church itself to stay the spread of heretical doctrines before 1560. It fails to realize that while aided considerably by the Tridentine decisions, the Scottish Counter-Reformation was largely a native movement which had its own views of the proper methods of dealing with the growing canker in the body ecclesiastic. Thus in order to have a due appreciation of the background of the Scottish Reformation and all that it entailed, it is necessary that we should have some understanding of the forces opposing Protestant reform in Scotland before 1560. Such a background this article will endeavour to give.

John Knox in attempting to trace the roots of the Reformation went back to the martyrdoms of the fifteenth century Lollards. It was among the spiritual descendants of this group that Lutheranism had its first and greatest influence.<sup>2</sup> By 1530, however, the new teachings had spread in much wider circles. After the martyrdom of Patrick Hamilton in 1527, the Scots gave increasing attention to Protestant doctrines. The result was an intensification of persecution. A number of the Scottish adherents of Luther were killed, while others were obliged to go into voluntary exile.<sup>3</sup> Laws were passed to keep heretical books and Bibles from being imported and read. Even foreigners travelling in the country, if found propagating the new doctrines,

1 Donald MacLean, *The Counter-Reformation in Scotland, 1560-1930* (London), 24-26.

2 John Knox, *The History of the Reformation in Scotland*, D. Laing, ed., (Edinburgh, 1846) I, 1ff; W. S. Reid, "The Lollards in Pre-Reformation Scotland," *Church History* XI (1942), 269.

3 Thos. M'Crie, *Life of John Knox* (Edinburgh, 1855), 15; Peter Lorimer, *Patrick Hamilton* (Edinburgh, 1857), chaps. IX, X.



were dealt with summarily. Yet in spite of this opposition, by 1540 the movement towards reform had developed into a force with which the church had to reckon. As increasing numbers of nobles had given Lutheranism their support, it was becoming the major foe of Scottish Catholicism.<sup>4</sup>

The general Scottish attitude towards the church at this time may be seen from the attacks made upon it. Both Catholics and Protestants felt that something had to be done towards improving the ecclesiastical situation. Sir David Lyndesay of the Mount, Lyon King at Arms, was the leading Scottish poet of his day and a violent enemy of the church's corruption. Being a Catholic and a friend of the King, his biting satirical poems obtained for him both a hearing and comparative immunity from prosecution by the church. A close second to Lyndesay was George Buchanan, later one of the leaders of the Reformed Church, who attacked ecclesiastical abuses in his *Franciscanus* and *Baptistes*. More positive, though no less critical than these men, were the Wedderburns who published in their *Gude and Godlie Ballatis*, during the '40s, translations of Lutheran hymns. These songs did much to spread the new doctrines as well as to discredit the old church. At the same time Lutheran prose works, usually translations such as John Gau's rendering of Christiern Pedersen's *Den rette vey till Heimmerigis Rige* became increasingly common.<sup>5</sup> With such a bombardment the Scottish church would need to look to its defences if it were to continue to exist.

The fact that such a concentrated attack could be made upon the church's life and doctrine with some show of truth, indicated that it was not well able to defend itself. Like many of those on the Continent, the Scottish church was corrupt, simoniacal, ignorant, and none too moral. The clergy themselves admitted this to be true. It is not surprising, therefore, that neither the common people nor the nobility had much respect for ecclesiastical institutions. At the same time it is a partial explanation of

<sup>4</sup> R. K. Hannay, *The Acts of the Lords of the Council in Public Affairs, 1501-1554* (Edinburgh, 1932), 422-3; John Spottiswoode, *History of the Church of Scotland* (Spottiswoode Society, 1847), I, 129-142; John Foxe, *Acts and Monuments*, J. Pratt & S. Stoughton eds. (London, 4th ed.), IV, 558 ff; P. H. Brown, *John Knox* (London, 1895), I, 49 ff; M'Crie, *John Knox*, 17.

<sup>5</sup> D. Laing, ed. *The Poems of Sir David Lyndsay* (Edinburgh, 1871), 2 vols.; Jos. Robertson, *Concilia Scotiae* (Edinburgh, 1866), I, exxix; M'Crie, *John Knox*, 323f; A. F. Mitchell, *The Gude and Godlie Ballatis* (Scottish Text Society, 1897), Introduction; John Gau, *The Richt Vay to the Kingdom of Hevine*, A. F. Mitchell, ed. (S. T. S., 1888), Introduction.

why the people were willing to follow the Lutheran teachers proclaiming new doctrines and living strictly moral lives. As one authority has put it: "The old ecclesiastical system was breaking to pieces from internal corruption, and was at the mercy of the first enemy who would strike the blow."<sup>6</sup>

Down to 1540, the church contented itself with merely inflicting corporal punishment upon heretics. James V, while disliking the clergy's evil ways, hated Lutheranism even more. Therefore, it was comparatively easy to reply to the new doctrine with the fagot. From 1540 on, however, the political situation changed, forcing the church to adopt other means of combatting Lutheranism. James' unsuccessful war with England obliged him to curtail persecution in order to unite the Scottish forces in his support. Then after his death in 1542, the conflict between the Earl of Arran and Cardinal Beaton for the regency made both parties anxious to retain the friendship of possible allies. When Arran and the Cardinal were finally reconciled, however, all such inhibitions were removed; and persecution re-commenced. But it did not last long, for in 1546 the Protestants assassinated Beaton. While this event was a warning to other clergy against persecution, it also opened the struggle for control of Scotland between Mary of Guise, the Queen-mother, and Beaton's erstwhile ally, the Earl of Arran. As each side needed Protestant support, both were willing to overlook the spread of heresy. Even after Mary had gained the victory, conditions in Scotland kept her from persecution until 1559.<sup>7</sup> By that time it was too late for the civil authorities to do anything. Thus politics played into the Protestants' hands, obliging the church to oppose the spread of heresy with sweet reason instead of physical force. From 1540 on the Scottish church was forced to rely for protection less upon secular arms and more upon its own spiritual weapons.

As a means of defending the church against the inroads of heresy, David Beaton had in 1538 been given a cardinal's hat. Realizing his responsibility to the church, he immediately pro-

6 D. H. Fleming, *The Reformation in Scotland* (London, 1910), 171; T. G. Law, *The Catechism of John Hamilton* (Oxford, 1884), xi; J. K. Hewison, ed. *Certain Tractates, etc. by Ninian Winzet* (S. T. S., 1888), 6; D. Patrick, ed. *Statutes of the Scottish Church* (Scottish History Society, 1907), xciv.

7 D. Calderwood, *History of the Kirk of Scotland* (Wodrow Society, 1842), I, 138ff; Sir James Melville, *Memoirs* (Maitland Club, 1827), 60ff; Jhone Leslie, *The History of Scotland*, F. E. G. Cody & Wm. Morison, eds. (S. T. S., 1895), II, 263ff; cf. also the general histories of Scotland such as those by Tytler and Brown.

ceeded to hunt down Lutherans with considerable vigor; but others in Scotland had a different view of the situation.<sup>8</sup> In 1540, a certain Archibald Hay wrote a *Panegyric* to Beaton in which he dealt with the question of church reform. He declared that the church needed a complete renovation. Through ignorance and debauchery, the clergy were worse than beasts. Beaton's promotion, he said, was providentially granted in order that he might bring about the proper ecclesiastical reform. In this way only could the church stop the spread of heresy. Hay seems to have been one of the first Roman Catholic advocates of internal reform in order to remove the causes of complaint against the church. He was, however, a voice crying in the wilderness. Although Beaton appointed him principal of St. Mary's College at St. Andrews, which was newly organized to combat Lutheran teachings, before much could be accomplished both men were dead.<sup>9</sup> This seems to have been Beaton's only attempt at internal ecclesiastical reform. Persecution remained his principal weapon.

Although the Cardinal does not seem to have been in entire agreement with Hay, there were others also who believed that the church had to be renovated. In 1540 Parliament passed a law which stated "that because of the negligence of divyne service the grett unhonestie in the Kirk throw not making of reparation to the honor of god almyghty and to the blissit sacrament of the altar the virgyne mary and all holy sanctis, And als the unhonestie and misrule of Kirkmen baith in with knowlege And maneris Is the mater and cause that the Kirk and Kirkmen are lychlyit and contempnit." If, therefore, the clergy would not reform the church, the King would take the matter up with the Pope.<sup>10</sup> This threat, however, was never carried out, for as war intervened, nothing further could be done at that time.

With the death of James V and the establishment of Arran as regent it looked as though the country might soon become Lutheran. The Earl was favourable towards the Protestant preachers; and through their influence Parliament passed a law permitting the private reading of the Scriptures in Scots or English. Although strongly opposed by the clergy at the time, this law was never repealed. The Protestants did not, however,

<sup>8</sup> *Calendar of State Papers, Venetian* (London, 1873), V, no. 194.

<sup>9</sup> Fleming, *The Reformation*, 41-45; J. H. Baxter, *St. Andrews University before the Reformation* (St. Andrews, 1927), 12.

<sup>10</sup> T. Thomson, ed., *The Acts of the Parliament of Scotland* (1814), II, 370, c. 4

enjoy their freedom for long. Arran was soon persuaded by his half-brother, John Hamilton, Abbot of Paisley, to be reconciled to Beaton, with the result that measures were again put into operation against the reformers. Censorship of "sclanderous bilis, writtings, ballatis and bukis" was established; and all discussions of matters of faith were forbidden.<sup>11</sup> Following this Beaton re-commenced persecution. In Perth and Dundee he was successful in attempting to punish despoilers of the churches. Finally to cap it all, in March, 1546, he had George Wishart arrested, tried, and burned. How much farther the persecution might have gone is hard to say; but within two months, in his own castle at St. Andrews, Beaton was murdered by some Protestant lords.<sup>12</sup> This put a stop to any further widespread persecution. Henceforth any prelate with the desire to attack the Protestants would think twice before doing so.

At the same time, however, Beaton's violent death caused a considerable reaction against Protestantism throughout the country. The party which had killed the Cardinal was promptly besieged in his stronghold. Here they were joined by John Knox who, during periods of truce, engaged the clergy of St. Andrews in doctrinal controversies. When the castle finally surrendered, all those who had taken part in its defence were exiled to France.<sup>13</sup> Although the Catholic party was for the time being victorious, they had been taught two lessons: Lutheranism had to be stamped out; and for that purpose Parliament passed laws against despoilers of churches and against heretics. At the same time the clergy of St. Andrews, apparently for the first time, came to realize that orthodoxy could be maintained only if they were willing to preach and teach in its defence.

The measures enacted for persecution of heretics came to nought. Nothing much could be done against the Protestants as they were too strong. As early as 1543 they could muster some 5000 or 6000 men near Edinburgh to despoil monasteries. The same year Cardinal Grimani was obliged to report that the country "was divided on account of the Lutherans, whose errors had become disseminated throughout almost the whole country

11 *Ibid.* 370, 371, 415; *Registrum Episcopatus Glasguensis* (Maitland Club, 1843), II, 559; P. F. Tytler, *History of Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1864), III, 40; Spottiswoode, *Church of Scotland*, I, 144-146; Foxe, *Acts*, V, 634ff; Knox, *Reformation*, 98ff; Robertson, *Concilia*, II, 294; Hannay, *The Acts*, 527.

12 Calderwood, *Kirk of Scotland*, 162; *APS*, II, 443; Knox, *Reformation*, 117ff; *Diurnal of Occurrents in Scotland* (Maitland Club, 1833), 42.

13 Knox, *Reformation*, I, 180ff; Spottiswoode, *Church of Scotland*, I, 168ff.

since the death of the king." Unless a change took place, he thought that Scotland would soon be like England. Two years later Lord Methuen was able to advise the Queen Dowager to deal gently with all the "greit gentilmen that be in norance is of ill mynd towardis the haly Kirk because it is now dowsit to punes be the law as the sammyn requiris."<sup>14</sup> Persecution was becoming dangerous to the persecutors. Many of the Protestants' complaints rested upon facts which were patent to all. The church, therefore, had to get down to the root of matter if it were to quiet the opposition.

It was out of this political development that the Counter-Reformation came to full flower in Scotland. At the council which condemned Wishart, funds were appropriated for the purpose of sending representatives to Trent, but were never used. Yet this does not mean that the clergy were ignorant of the need for reform.<sup>15</sup> They were beginning to realize that judgment had to begin at the House of God. As *The Complaynt of Scotland* stated in 1549: "This plag and scisma sal never be re-formit for na statutis, lauis, punitions, bannessing, byrning, hayrschip, nor torment that can be divisit, quhil on to the tyme that the speritualite reform ther auen abusio."<sup>16</sup> Before the Scottish church could regain its influence over the people it must needs clean out its own house. Until that time, it would receive little support even from the most loyal Catholics. Such considerations as these, along with the example being set at Trent, forced the Scottish clergy to take some drastic action in their own church.

The first real attempt at self-reform in the Scottish church came in 1549 with the calling of a Provincial Council to deal with obvious abuses. This meeting was followed by a second one in 1552 which devoted itself largely to stiffening or extending the enactments of the earlier council. Thus in a number of cases the work of the two gatherings can be dealt with as one. In other cases, however, the Council of 1552 went much further

14 *APS*, II, 470; J. H. Burton, ed., *Register of the Privy Council of Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1877), I, 63, 61; G. Dickinson, *Two Missions of Jacques de la Brosse* (S. H. S., 1942), 22; R. K. Hannay, "Letters of a Papal Legate in Scotland, 1543," *Scottish Historical Review*, XI (1914), 19; *Letters and Papers, Henry VIII* (London, 1902), XVIII: 2, no. 299; A. I. Cameron, *The Scottish Correspondence of Mary of Lorraine* (S. H. S., 1927), no. XCVIII.

15 Maclean, *The Counter Reformation*, 23; Cameron, *Correspondence*, xix.

16 J. A. H. Murray, ed., *The Complaynt of Scotland* (Early English Text Soc. 1872), Ex. Ser., XVII, 157 ff.



than that of 1549, although even then it built on the foundation laid earlier.

In both 1549 and 1552 the councils stated frankly that they felt the main problem with which they had to deal was the moral and intellectual reform of the clergy. Indeed, they believed that this was really the only cause of the revolt against the church.<sup>17</sup> There is no indication that there was any feeling in favour of a revision of doctrines. This point of view became the reform movement's mainspring and limitation. Down to 1560 the clergy occupied themselves almost entirely with the questions of clerical life and ignorance. By this means, it was hoped, the ground would be cut from under the reformers' feet, and the spread of heresy stayed.

The attention of the Council of 1549 was first directed towards the reform of clerical morals. The various officials of the church were instructed to enforce the law *De Concubinariis* of the Council of Basle. No superior was to permit his subordinates to keep concubines; and any ordinary negligent in the enforcement of the law was to be delated to the pope. Moreover, since many ordinaries punished the offenders by merely fining them without requiring them to renounce their concubines, this was likewise forbidden. The laws were made applicable to the regular as well as to the secular clergy, with the statement that any monks guilty of concubinage or of apostacy from their vows were to be severely punished. While ratified by the Council of 1552, the principles here enunciated were extended to the laity. Matrimonial cases were to be dealt with more seriously in the church courts. At the same time Parliament enacted that laymen who would not cease from adultery even after cursing were to be accused before royal justiciars as criminals.<sup>18</sup>

Coupled with these attempts to restrain the immorality of the clergy, efforts were also made to keep them from leading worldly lives. They were forbidden to keep their children in their company, nor were they to "suffer them directly or indirectly to be promoted in their churches, nor under colour of any pretext to marry their daughters to barons or make their sons barons out of the patrimony of Christ." Laws were also enacted to prevent the clergy from engaging in worldly pursuits and from dressing in a worldly manner. They were to shave off their

<sup>17</sup> *Statutes of the Scottish Church*, 84.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.* 91-96; 138; *APS*, II, 486

beards and to make sure that their tonsures were proper ones. Temperance in diet was also enjoined, particular stress being laid upon the necessity of keeping the church's feasts publicly and of having the Scriptures read at the meal-table.<sup>19</sup> No effort was to be spared to bring the clergy back to a proper appreciation of their station and responsibilities.

The councils of 1549 and 1552 followed these laws with others dealing with the priests' work. Ordinaries were instructed to visit even exempt churches. They were to make sure that all church buildings were in good repair and that the services were properly conducted. While the holding of incompatible benefices was declared improper, those who did have them were to produce papal dispensations on demand of the ordinary. Fraudulent unions of benefices of less than forty years' duration could be revoked if deemed detrimental to the church. Parish clerks were also instructed either to serve their offices in person, or to obtain suitable substitutes acceptable to the bishop.<sup>20</sup>

The councils then went on to deal with the church courts. As the latter left much to be desired in the matter of efficiency and justice, they were to be reformed. Procurators in unjust cases, or those who attempted to obtain delays by improper means, or those who introduced irrelevant arguments to confuse the issue, were to be punished. Stern measures were adopted to deal with those who suborned witnesses, a very necessary provision if some of the contemporary satirists may be believed. Finally, action was taken to have the courts conducted with more efficiency and decorum. As far as possible, everything was to be done to speed up business.<sup>21</sup> In this way, it was hoped, some of the common and well merited complaints might be met.

Closely linked with this matter of the courts was that of notarial documents, especially of wills and testaments. Provisions were made for the re-examination of all notaries, and also for the preservation of their protocol books after their deaths. Both councils emphasized the necessity of having wills properly executed, and to help in this, passed special laws. Moreover, to facilitate the tracing of family relationships, instructions were issued to the parochial clergy regarding their registers of baptism and marriages.<sup>22</sup>

<sup>19</sup> *Statutes*, 92f.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, 113f.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, 128ff.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, 115, 137, 142f.

All these reforms dealt with the outward condition of the church. The clergy hoped that they would thus be able to steal the thunder of the Protestants who made the most of the current ecclesiastical corruption. By reforming the outward lives of the clergy, by improving the processes of ecclesiastical law, the people would be shown that the church was not as bad as its enemies painted it. Yet this was not sufficient; and the ecclesiastics knew it. They realized that the Scottish people as a whole were ignorant of the church's teachings. One of the great reasons for the appeal made by the Reformers was that they were giving the people instruction. If the clergy were to arrest the growth of Protestantism, the people must be instructed in the church's doctrine. In this way the laity would be able to see the reformers' errors and so avoid falling in with their heretical teaching.

As a result of such reasoning the Council of 1549, following the instructions of the Council of Trent, issued orders to encourage preaching. Every bishop, archpriest, and rector was to preach in person in his own church at least four times a year. While quoting the law of Trent requiring preaching every Lord's Day, the Scottish council demanded of the incumbent only four personal appearances *per annum*. Absentee clergy would thus be required to assume only a minimum of obligations. The ordinaries were to examine all holders of benefices to ascertain their ability to preach. Rectors who were too young to fulfill their duties were to obtain proper curates and to proceed forthwith to obtain the necessary training. Those who were too old, not only had to obtain substitutes, but were obliged to attend the services in person.<sup>23</sup> At least a minimum of instruction would in this way be given to the people.

An attempt was made at the same time to have more instruction given to the clergy themselves. It was ordained that in every cathedral church there were to be two special instructors: one an accredited theologian, the other a canonist. The former, at least once a week, was "to publicly read and expound the holy Scriptures and preach as well in the said cathedral as in other churches, so that the bishop and the canons of the city can attend, if they wish, his exposition and discourse." The canonist was to follow the same plan. For their maintenance the bishop was to appoint a benefice worth £100 for the theologian and 100 marks for the lawyer. Every monastery and large collegiate

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, 101ff.

church was likewise to have a theologian who would expound the Scriptures and preach in the institution's churches. Where the cathedrals or monasteries were too poor to support special lectures, a master of grammar was to be appointed. He was to instruct clerics and poor scholars in the art of grammar in order that they might go on to the study of the Scriptures. For the support of these different special instructors the Council actually set aside one benefice in each diocese and in each monastic house.<sup>24</sup> The clergy were determined that something must be accomplished towards reforming the church.

The provisions made for the appointment and maintenance of preachers immediately created a demand for properly trained men. For this reason certain educational regulations were laid down. The Tridentine rule that scholars who were studying at the schools were to receive the revenues due to them from their prebends and benefices despite their absences was accepted. Moreover, each monastery was to choose two or three of its brightest men that they might be given a university education. To facilitate this, a quota of monks was set for each house, so that forty-two should always be in training. The synod then went on to define the nature of the curriculum to be followed. Special emphasis was laid upon the necessity of being able to speak Latin, and upon the importance of strict examinations. The mastership of the St. Andrews grammar school had apparently fallen into disrepute, for special qualifications were also specified for the master of that institution.<sup>25</sup> Thus provision was made for the supply of men who would be able to instruct the common people.

Going on from the matter of preachers and their training, the Council of 1549 enacted a statute on "The Method and Order of preaching." The preacher was instructed to devote the first part of his sermon to an explanation of the Epistle or Gospel. He was to expound it as he had been taught "according to the sense of the Catholic Church" and "according to the rule of the ancient doctors." The latter part of his discourse was to be spent on "catechism." This meant instruction in the rudiments of the faith, or expositions of the articles of the Creed, the precepts of the Decalogue, the Seven Deadly Sins, the Seven Sacraments, the Lord's Prayer, the Hail Mary, and the works of mercy. "In

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, 104-5, 120-1, 124.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, 98, 99, 106, 109.

all of which discourses," the Council insisted, "let them be enjoined to stir up the Christian people to a befitting veneration of the sacrament of the altar and to instruct the congregation in proportion to their capacity in the efficacy and right use of this sacrament." After the sermon, the preacher was to say the *Pater Noster*, and the *Ave Maria*, "that she may intercede with the Lord God to procure divine grace for making the discourse blessed and fruitful." Finally, the preacher was to close with a prayer for the souls of those who were dead.<sup>26</sup> By these measures, the clergy felt, they would be able to arrest the movement of the Reformers. Due and proper instruction of the clergy followed by the instruction of the people would put the church beyond the danger of the Lutheran reform.

Not content with merely rectifying abuses in the church, the Council also took action against the dissemination of heretical teachings. Every precaution was to be observed lest heretics should be appointed to lectureships in churches or educational institutions. Apparently, since many of them were well educated, they might attempt to obtain such positions. If, on the other hand, a propagator of false doctrine did preach or teach, even in an exempt monastery, the bishop was to proceed against him. At the same time the bishops were warned not to be overzealous in heresy hunting lest they be misled by rumours or false accusations. Yet while advising caution, the Council was determined to root out heresy. Inquisitors of heretical pravity were to be appointed by each bishop. They were to be men of piety, integrity, learning, and versed in theology, "who also must be men of good life, and good name, and of great tact." These men were to make inquisition for heretics and heretical literature, all of which were to be reported to the ordinaries. Abbots were to do the same among their monks, even going so far as to ransack monastic cells for heretical works. The ordinaries were themselves to make inquisition once a year and to prosecute to the utmost heresiarchs, especially those attacking the Eucharist. They were also to search out all rhymes and popular songs attacking churchmen or setting forth heresy. These were to be burned and their use, sale, printing, and reading interdicted. Inhibitory letters were also to be issued with the penalty of excommunication *ipso facto* against unauthorized preachers and their congregations. Finally, articles of inquisition were drawn up to

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, 108.



facilitate the discovery of heretics.<sup>27</sup> In every way possible the Council wished to provide protection for the Scottish people from the errors of Lutheranism.

While these provisions were doubtless of great wisdom, they actually accomplished little. With the exception of the burning of Adam Wallace in 1551, when the Council reconvened in January, 1552, little had been achieved. While some would say that the 1552 Council's expression of confidence in the disappearance of heresy indicates that Lutheranism was almost dead, it does not seem that this was true. The Council itself acknowledged that the rules and regulations of 1549 had been largely neglected. They were therefore reaffirmed, instructions being issued to see that they were put into operation without delay. But an addition was also made. It had been discovered that the people were not interested in the exposition of the church's doctrine. They either absented themselves from Mass and from preaching, or when they did attend, they made so much noise that the service did them little if any good. The Council consequently ordained that all those who were irreverent, who mocked, or who did business in the church during service, were to be delated to the dean. Curates and vicars were instructed to see that during services there was no foregathering, either for business or pleasure, in the church porches. Five days later the law dealing with church services became a parliamentary statute when it was adopted by the Scottish Estates.<sup>28</sup> The people were to be saved from error in spite of themselves.

The big problem facing the Council, however, was that of popular instruction. While the clergy asserted that the progress of heresy had been checked, they realized that they themselves were incapable of teaching the people. This was one of the reasons for the failure of the previous Council's laws regarding preaching. It was, therefore, determined that the Council should publish a catechism for the Scottish church. It was to contain "at least the first elements of the Catholic faith" in "the vulgar Scottish tongue." After careful preparation it was to be placed in the hands of those with cure of souls, "as much for the instruction of themselves as of the Christian people committed to their care." The surplus supply beyond that needed for the clergy, was to remain in the hands of Archbishop Hamilton. Ex-

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, 102, 122, 123, 126.

<sup>28</sup> Law, *The Catechism*, xii; Leslie, *The Historie*, II, 344-5; *Statutes*, 135, 136ff; *APS*, II, 485.

cept in special cases, copies were not to be given to the laity.<sup>29</sup> Through this medium, both clergy and laity would be instructed in the beliefs of their church.

Particular attention was devoted by the Council of 1552 to the proper use of the catechism; and its instructions on this point reveal much about the condition of the church. Those who used the catechism were to practice reading it in private before attempting to do so in public, "lest they expose themselves to the ridicule of their hearers . . . and . . . lay themselves open to the curse of God." The actual public lection was to take place on Sunday for half an hour before mass. "Standing in the pulpit, vested in surplice and stole" the priest was to read it "in a loud and audible voice, distinctly, clearly, articulately and with attention to the stops." No one was to be allowed to interrupt or start a disputation about that which was read. If someone did disrupt the reading by attempting to discuss the catechism's contents, he was to be reported to the local inquisitor. No reply could be made to interrupters except by rectors who had episcopal permission. From experience, the clergy knew that the heretics could not be silenced by a mere word of authority. A system of fines was also established for those who failed to fulfill the regulations.<sup>30</sup>

The catechism published in conformity with the Council's action appeared at St. Andrews in 1552. Financed by Archbishop Hamilton, it is believed that the author was a future Reformed minister, John Wynram, Dean of St. Andrews. The work was principally didactic in character, its object being the instruction of a people entirely ignorant of their own professed beliefs. Theologically it represents the views of the liberal group amongst the Roman Catholic clergy. In actual form it was divided into four sections: (1) the Decalogue; (2) the True Faith as contained in the Creed; (3) the Seven Sacraments; and (4) the Lord's Prayer. Although this was the only real attempt made by the Scottish church to teach the people, there is little evidence that the catechism was ever widely used.<sup>31</sup> Essentially mediating, it had the support neither of the strictly orthodox ultramontane element, nor of the definitely heretical and reforming group.

When we come to an actual study of the catechism's con-

<sup>29</sup> *Statutes*, 143, 144, 146.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, 146, 147.

<sup>31</sup> Knox, *Reformation*, 1, 124, n. 1; Law, *The Catechism*, 27.

tents we find that it made certain definite concessions to the Reformers. While it was undoubtedly intended primarily for the instruction of the people, it would seem that an attempt was also being made to remove some of the Reformers' grounds for complaint, thus leaving a way open perhaps for some compromise with the new teaching. We find, for instance, no sparing of the people's or of the clergy's sins. In dealing with the sixth commandment, the catechism states that men must keep from all unchastity of body, mind, and word. "For, fornication was nocht tholit amangis the Jewis unpunissit, an oppin huirdom and manifest adulterie is daily do-in amang christen men, aganis the command of God." Under the seventh commandment an attack was made upon simony. Bishops who provide unworthy men to benefices, and incumbents of benefices who neither fulfill their duties nor give to the poor, were declared guilty of robbery.<sup>32</sup> From this we can see that it was acknowledged that all was not well with the church.

In matters of doctrine also, there was a tendency to compromise the church's position. The catechism taught the doctrine of justification by faith alone. Faith, we are told, is first of all belief in the triune God and in the Scriptures. From this there grows the fear of punishment for sin. Out of such fear comes a "leiffand faith" by which "we throw feir of God begin-and to repent our self of our synnis, suld hoip to optene the mercy and grace, quhilk God promissis in Christ to al and sundry faithful and penitent men and women." Faith in Christ results in His delivering us from the devil, sin, and hell, and that He having taken us into His own care, will keep us forever. At the same time, there was no real toning down of the sacramental doctrines of the church. Transubstantiation was accepted, the Mass being referred to as the "sacrafice of the altar." The explanation of the efficacy of the Mass, however, is somewhat closer to that of Wittenberg than to that of Trent. The other sacraments were given their usual Thomistic interpretation, although an unusual amount of emphasis was laid upon the importance of the faith and knowledge of the recipients.<sup>33</sup> Thus in some ways Hamilton's catechism showed itself by no means intransigent in its Roman Catholicism.

There is, however, even more direct evidence of the mediat-

<sup>32</sup> Law, *op. cit.*, 88, 97-99.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, 128, 256, 143, 202-209, 233-4.

ing character of the work. As A. F. Mitchell, the first modern editor of the catechism, has pointed out, much of the material used came originally from German catechisms and statements of faith interested in effecting a doctrinal compromise. We can even trace some borrowing from Henry VIII's *Necessary Doctrine* and from Luther's *Catechism*. This explains the predominance of the didactic over the polemic element in the book. But what is even more important, while accepting a modified Catholicism, the catechism makes absolutely no reference to papal authority or power.<sup>34</sup> It would seem from this that either the writer of the catechism was anxious to remove any cause for the anti-papalist elements in the country supporting the reformers; or that Scottish nationalism and anti-papalism had already gained a firm grip upon the church itself. But whatever the reason, this omission is perhaps the most significant characteristic of the work. Thus when we take the catechism as a whole, we must admit that it was an instrument well designed for teaching a mediating theology. We also see, how far certain elements in the Scottish church itself had departed from the Tridentine view of ecclesiastical doctrine. The Protestant Reformation was not far away.

In spite of all these efforts nothing much was accomplished. The catechism seems to have received little attention. The provisions for the training of the clergy for preaching had only a little more success. A few of the clergy seem to have gone abroad to improve themselves by study, but they were a definite minority. Hamilton completed Beaton's plan for the establishment of St. Mary's College at St. Andrews, but it was not very successful in stemming the swelling tide of Protestantism. Along with these efforts went the establishment of schools for popular instruction. At Linlithgow, for instance, a grammar school was established under the direction of Ninian Winzet, later one of Knox's doughtiest opponents. "Sang scules" were also set up in some towns; but there was no widespread educational development.<sup>35</sup>

Even less successful was the attempt to reform the lives and morals of the clergy. As M'Crie has pointed out, those whose duty it was to enforce the laws, were the ones most guilty of breaking them. Shortly after the close of the provincial

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, xxx-xxxi, xxxiii.

<sup>35</sup> Cameron, *Correspondence*, no. CCXXVIII; J. C. Lees, *St. Giles, Edinburgh* (Edinburgh, 1889), 353; Hewison, *Tractates*, xix.

Council of 1552, Archbishop Hamilton was treated for failing health. When advised by the physician to give up his sexual immorality, he said that was impossible. The same year two of his children were legitimized. The other prelates and clergy were about as bad. Four years after the reform Council had closed, Cardinal Sermoneta reported to Paul IV that such was the clerical immorality that unless conditions improved, Scotland would soon leave the Roman Church completely.<sup>36</sup> In such a situation catechism and laws, no matter how beneficial, could do little. If the clergy would not reform the church from within, reform would be forced upon it from without.

As a result of this situation, the hope of destroying the influence of the Reformers by the church's self-reform soon disappeared. Not only did the desired improvements fail to materialize, the extra-ecclesiastical reform party continued to increase in strength. In February, 1552, we find Parliament passing a censorship law against "ballattis, sangis, blasphematiounis rymes alsweill of kirkmen as temprall and uthers." Some four years later the Queen Regent herself entered the fray. A royal admonition was sent to the Provost and baillies of Edinburgh instructing them to find the people who were publishing "odious ballattis and rymes," and breaking images in St. Giles Church. Perhaps as a result of this action, some heretical books were burnt at the Edinburgh Market Cross shortly afterwards.<sup>37</sup> One reason for the increasing power of the Protestants was the return from exile of a number of their leaders. William Harlaw, John Willock, and most important of all, John Knox, appeared on the scene. Through their encouragement and aid, the nobles and others inclined towards Protestantism were persuaded to show their true colours. This they could do without too much risk, since Mary of Guise, who had supplanted Arran as regent in 1552, was in need of all possible support. She was obliged, therefore, to allow the growing body of heretics more freedom. The result of this was that preaching and exhorting were carried on with increasing boldness and effect.<sup>38</sup>

The culmination of the Protestant growth came in December, 1557, with the organization of the Lords of the Congrega-

<sup>36</sup> *Statutes*, xcii; Knox, *Reformation*, I, 124-5; J. F. S. Gordon, *Ecclesiastical Chronicle for Scotland* (London, 1875), I, 289, 286; M'Crie, *John Knox*, 82; Fleming, *The Reformation*, 64-6.

<sup>37</sup> *APS*, II, 488; Fleming, *The Reformation*, 175f; Lees, *St. Giles*, 355, 84.

<sup>38</sup> Knox, *Reformation*, 245f, 253ff; M'Crie, *John Knox*, 83; Cameron, *Correspondence*, 371ff, no. CCLXX.



tion. This body expressed the desire that the Scriptures should be read in public and common prayers permitted. Instruction, on the other hand, should be continued more or less privately until the Queen should grant "public preaching by faithful and trew ministeris." The following year, encouraged by their own power, the Protestants began to attack the church more violently in their sermons, and even to seize and destroy ecclesiastical images. Mary of Guise, who had little liking for the reform movement at any time, had to call a halt. Moreover, being now certain of the support of France, she felt able to dispense with the help of the Congregation. At this point the Protestants demanded a complete reform of religion. To this the Roman Catholic clergy countered with a demand for a public disputation. When the Protestants would agree to this only on condition that the Scriptures were to be the final authority, the plans for a debate collapsed. The clergy then suggested that certain liberties might be granted if the Protestants would recognize the Mass, purgatory, prayers to the saints, and other church dogmas. As this plan was rejected by the Congregation, if the old church would not surrender, nothing remained possible but war.<sup>39</sup>

The religious situation was indicated by an event of the year 1558. In March, Archbishop Hamilton wrote the Earl of Argyle who had as his chaplain a Protestant by the name of James Douglas. He warned the Earl against Douglas's theology, hinted at prosecution for heresy and ended up by offering "to provide a cunning man . . . wharefoir I shall answer for his trew doctrin." His persuasion and his threats, however, had little effect, for the Earl refused to follow Hamilton's advice. The Archbishop either had to forget about Douglas, or fight the Earl of Argyle. The latter alternative would have meant civil war.<sup>40</sup>

The only people against whom Hamilton could take extreme action were the humble folk; and even these were not easily made to submit. About this time an old man, Walter Myln by name, was arrested, tried and executed for heresy. His courage before the tribunal, and his fortitude in death, however, seem to have done the Archbishop more damage than his execution did good. Myln was the last Scottish martyr. After his death persecution of the Protestants became virtually impossible. They

39 Knox, *Reformation*, 265-301.

40 *Ibid.*, 276-9.

were now openly organizing their churches, and no attempt to stop them would have been successful.<sup>41</sup>

In opposition to this growth of Protestantism, there appeared in 1558 the only Scottish Roman Catholic apologetic written before the consummation of the Reformation. It was the *Compendius Tractive* of Quintin Kennedy, Abbot of Crosraguel. In this work Kennedy acknowledged the evil condition of the church, stating that it was ruled by clerical greed. Yet he held that this was no reason for rejecting the church's authority. Carrying the attack against the reformers on to their own ground, he admitted that they were right in holding to the Scriptures as the final authority in all matters religious. But he also maintained that the Scriptures could be properly interpreted only by the church gathered in an ecumenical council. Such councils were the church's highest authority. It was true that the church needed reform, but because of divinely ordained conciliar authority, the reform could be accomplished only in accordance with ecclesiastical doctrine. While both clergy and people were far below the proper standard of life and conduct, the church's doctrine was still infallibly correct. He did not believe that the doctrine was in any way connected with the church's condition. He felt, rather, that clerical and lay lives should be reformed, and the people instructed in doctrine. In his point of view, as well as in his ignoring of papal authority, Kennedy was merely following the example of the Catechism of 1552.<sup>42</sup>

Kennedy put his views into practical effect a year later when he challenged John Willock, one of the leading reformers, to a debate. The Scriptures were accepted by both as the final authority for settling the dispute. Kennedy, however, insisted that the interpretation of the Scriptures given by the ante-Nicene fathers was to be the norm of all exposition. This destroyed the contemplated debate, for Willock flatly refused such a limitation. Between two such divergent views there could be no reconciliation.<sup>43</sup>

Along with Kennedy others were attempting to stay the progress of heresy. But nothing could be done until the earlier

41 *Ibid.*, 308; Foxe, *Acts*, V, 644ff; Robert Wodrow, *Collections upon the Lives of the Reformers and Ministers of the Church of Scotland* (Maitland Club, 1834), I, 102.

42 Fleming, *The Reformation*, 92; D. Laing, *Miscellany of the Wodrow Society* (Wodrow Society, 1844), 89-168.

43 *Ibid.*, 263-268.

laws were obeyed. Clerical immorality was as common in 1559 as it had been ten years earlier. An example of the conditions prevailing was given when the Bishop of Aberdeen requested the advice of his chapter as to the best means for staunching heresies. He was told bluntly that he had better start by reforming his own life first. At that time his concubine was Jonet Knowis, by whom he had six children; and they did not make up all his progeny. Yet he was not by any means exceptional. Many of his fellow bishops, as well as many of the lower clergy, led equally scandalous lives.<sup>44</sup>

The result of this situation was that eventually even the none-too-moral Scottish nobility decided to take a hand in reforming the church. An ecclesiastical council had been held in 1555, but it had contented itself with merely repeating the earlier statutes.<sup>45</sup> In 1558, therefore the Catholic nobles submitted to the Queen certain demands with regard to the church. It was asked that provision be made for the more frequent preaching of the Word of God: and that all those admitted to benefices be properly qualified to perform this important task. Instruction in the doctrines of the church, and prayers and litanies were desired in the "vulgar tongue." It was also requested that the Easter offering and the offering to the priest on the death of a parishioner be made voluntary instead of compulsory. Relief was also sought from delayed actions and appeals in ecclesiastical courts, from extortionate dues in ecclesiastical infestments, and from papal provisions to Scottish benefices contrary to the rights of the crown and commonweal. Finally, the nobles asked that the laws against heretics be put into operation.<sup>46</sup>

The reply of the clergy took the form of calling a provincial council which proved to be the last before the Reformation. To this body was submitted the Catholics' requests, along with much more radical demands from the Lords of the Congregation. The latter called for the removal of all unfit priests, the election of the bishops by the barons of the diocese, and of the priest by the parishioners. While it was impossible to fulfill the Protestants' demands, practically all the Catholics' requests could be met. The only exception was the request for an English or Scots lit-

44 Jno. Stuart, ed., *The Spalding Club Miscellany* (1849), IV, 57; Fleming, *The Reformation*, 53-55, 56.

45 *Statutes*, 148.

46 *Ibid.*, 156ff.

urgy. This, the clergy said, was contrary to the law of the church.<sup>47</sup>

To give effect to the Catholic nobles' desires, the Council re-enacted and extended the earlier reforming laws. First of all, it set up a committee on clerical morals. Composed of what seems to have been the leaders of the church reform movement, it was to meet twice a year to check up on the lives of the Archbishop and the other ecclesiastical leaders. If any of them were found to be living contrary to the law, they were to be reported first to the Archbishop. If he took no action, the matter was to be laid before the council; and as a court of last resort the matter was to be sent to Rome. Laws were also passed forbidding the clergy to entertain their children for more than four days in three months; and strict regulations were laid down to prevent the inheriting or improper possession of church lands by such children.<sup>48</sup>

With regard to preaching, the old laws were reenacted. The attempt to establish preaching throughout the Scottish church had been a complete failure. No use was being made of the catechism. Therefore, the archdeacons and rural deans were instructed to see that laws concerning it were properly carried out. By this means, it was hoped, much would be accomplished.<sup>49</sup>

Finally, the Council took up the matter of doctrine. It was stated that great care was to be exercised that all teaching should be orthodox. Preachers were to occupy themselves with doctrines "which have been defined on matters of the Christian faith and religion by the testimony of the holy Scriptures and of approved doctors and fathers, and by the authority of the Catholic Church and General Councils." The synod then set forth a statement of the Traditions of the Church. Saints were to be venerated and invoked, images were declared lawful, purgatorial expiation explained, and the doctrines of transubstantiation and the Mass expounded. In all of this the Council showed little originality. It merely adopted a statement set forth by the University of Louvain in 1554. The Scottish version, however, had one important omission. The original had opened with the explanation that Christians must hold whatever is taught by the Scriptures or general councils duly convoked "*et concluditur per*

47 Knox, *Reformation*, I, 291ff; M'Crie, *John Knox*, 123-4; Leslie, *The Historie*, 397ff.

48 *Statutes*, 163-4, 165.

49 *Ibid.*, 171-176.

*cathedram Petri.*" The Scots omitted all reference to papal authority. They continued to act in line with the earlier councils and Kennedy's *Tractive*. Although supposedly remaining good Catholics, many of the Scots were not in any way prepared to acknowledge papal supremacy over the church.<sup>50</sup>

Along with its doctrinal statement, the Council, in order to instruct the people, authorized the publication of pamphlets. As far as we know, only one appeared. Printed to explain the doctrine of the Mass, it was sold for 2d, and as a result was known as the *Twa Penny Faith*. Although teaching the doctrine of transubstantiation, in the explanation of the sacrament's efficacy it leaned more towards Hamilton's *Catechism* than to the Louvain statement. The great emphasis is upon the importance of faith in receiving the Eucharist. It was to be read to the parishioners before the distribution of the sacrament.<sup>51</sup>

Special action was also taken to see that the tithes, Easter offerings, and the like were made less oppressive. Laws regarding wills and testaments, leasing of church lands, collection of fines, etc., all enacted at earlier councils were likewise repeated for good measure.<sup>52</sup>

Then to cap it all, orders were issued that any child baptized by Protestant preachers was to be rebaptized. On pain of excommunication, the parents were to bring such children to the priest within fifteen days. Under the same penalty, no one was to administer or receive the Eucharist except according to the order of the Roman Catholic Church. At the same time all heretics were to be removed from ecclesiastical households.<sup>53</sup> There was little more that could be done for the cause of reform within the church.

The final establishment of the Reformed religion within Scotland, however, was already in sight, and Mary of Guise by trying to crush the Lords of the Congregation by force only advanced the Reformers' cause. The Queen-regent sought and found aid against the Protestants both at the French court and at the Sorbonne. The result was that a revolt took place against what seemed to be an attempt to make Scotland into a satellite province of France. Nationalism and religion were united, with

50 *Ibid.*, 173-5; Law, *The Catechism*, xxxiv.

51 *Statutes*, 175; Knox, *Reformation*, VI, 676.

52 *Statutes*, 181ff.

53 *Ibid.*, 166, 186, 187.



the result that by the end of 1559 the complete victory of Protestantism was certain.<sup>54</sup>

The failure of attempts to reform the Scottish church from within was undoubtedly one of the reasons for the Protestant success. That such a reform as was contemplated, however, would have been enough, is open to question. The fact that some changes in doctrine were advocated, and that papal supremacy was ignored, would seem to indicate that something more was needed. The changed outlook of the people, the rise of nationalism, and the demand for a more personal religion could not be satisfied with a mere improvement in administration or morals. A change in doctrine seems to have been necessary. That came with the establishment of Presbyterianism in Scotland in 1560.<sup>55</sup>

<sup>54</sup> Cameron, *Correspondence*, 418, 419, 421; Knox, *Reformation*, 312-337; Melville, *Memoirs*, 76-78; Dickinson, *Jacques de la Brosse*, 52.

<sup>55</sup> M'Crie, *John Knox*, 12; Brown, *John Knox*, 36.

MINUTES OF THE  
FIFTY-EIGHTH CONSECUTIVE MEETING  
OF THE AMERICAN SOCIETY OF CHURCH HISTORY

May 5, 1945

The American Society of Church History held its Spring meeting at Garrett Biblical Institute in Evanston, Illinois, on Saturday, May 5, 1945.

AFTERNOON SESSION

The meeting was called to order at 1:00 o'clock by Charles H. Lyttle, in the absence of the President and Vice-President. Thirty-four members and guests were present. President Smith of Garrett Biblical Institute was introduced and extended a cordial welcome to the members of the Society on behalf of the faculty of the institution.

The opening paper, "The Importance of an Understanding of Religion for the Historian," was read by J. William Anderson and the discussion was led by Ernest G. Schwiebert and Peter Stiansen. "The Place of Religious History in a Liberal Arts Program" was the topic of a paper by Leland H. Carlson, and Charles W. Kegley and Paul H. Crusius led the discussion. The final paper of the afternoon session, "The Function of Historical Studies in the Theological Curriculum," was read by James Hastings Nichols and was discussed by Charles T. Baillie and Georgia Harkness. The three papers centering around the theme "Historical Studies and the Church Historian" stimulated great interest and considerable discussion.

At the close of the session Charles A. Anderson, the new Secretary of the Presbyterian Historical Society with headquarters in Philadelphia, was introduced.

EVENING SESSION

In the absence of the President and Vice-President, the Society was called into business session at 6:45 by Percy V. Norwood. The report of the Council with regard to changes in membership was received. (See Minutes of the Council May 5, 1945). By a unanimous and hearty vote the Society express-

ed its appreciation to the entertaining institution and to Professors Nagler and Walzer for their gracious hospitality and for the careful arrangements that had been made for the meeting. The business session adjourned at 7:00 p.m. A. W. Nagler introduced Richard J. Hooker who presented the paper of the evening, "An Anglican Cleric Views Religion on the South Carolina Frontier, 1766-1772." The paper provoked considerable discussion which was led by Percy V. Norwood and William W. Sweet.

The Society adjourned at 9:00 p.m.

Attest: WINTHROP S. HUDSON,  
*Assistant Secretary.*

## MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF THE COUNCIL OF THE AMERICAN SOCIETY OF CHURCH HISTORY

May 5, 1945

In the absence of the President and the Vice-President, the Council was called to order by Professor Percy V. Norwood at 5:30 p.m. The Assistant Secretary reported the death of William H. T. Dau, D. D. and the resignations of the Reverend John J. Banninga and the Reverend William T. Townsend, which were accepted. The following persons properly nominated and seconded were elected to membership, subject to the fulfillment of the constitutional requirements:

Robert A. Baker  
Fort Worth, Texas

William W. Barnes  
Fort Worth, Texas

Howard W. Bock  
Philadelphia, Pa.

Walter H. Eastwood  
Allentown, Pa.

George W. Forell  
New York, N. Y.

Robert M. Grant  
Sewanee, Tenn.

Kenneth L. Holmes  
Williams, Calif.

Floyd E. House  
Palo Alto, Calif.

Earl H. Kauffman  
Shenandoah, Pa.

Ralph E. Knudsen  
Berkeley, Calif.

Harold L. Marchel  
Berkeley, Calif.

Thomas T. McAvoy  
Notre Dame, Indiana

Harold McCleave  
Atchison, Kansas

Thomas Murray  
New Haven, Conn.

Tiran Nersoyan  
New York, N. Y.

Jaroslav J. Pelikan, Jr.  
Chicago, Ill.

Paul Roeder  
Chicago, Ill.

Walter T. Rossnagel  
Lansing, Ill.

Marvin H. Runner  
Oberlin, Ohio

Mar Eshai Shimun  
Chicago, Ill.

John E. Skoglund  
Berkeley, Calif.

Ahlert H. Strand  
Chicago, Ill.

Robert G. Torbet  
Philadelphia, Pa.

W. J. Walls  
Chicago, Illinois

Robert T. West  
Fort Worth, Texas

It was reported by the Secretary that Paul E. Callahan, Eugene, Oregon; Edward L. Fortney, New Haven, Conn.; and Oscar W. Payne, Coos Bay, Oregon were elected to membership on January 10, 1945 by mail ballot of the Council, subject to the fulfillment of the constitutional requirements.

A communication from President Sandford Fleming was read and it was recommended that he proceed to arrange a literary meeting of the Society to be held on the West coast during the first or second week of September, 1945.

The Council adjourned at 5:45.

Attest: WINTHROP S. HUDSON,  
*Assistant Secretary.*



## BOOK REVIEWS

### THE CROSS AND THE ETERNAL ORDER

By HENRY W. CLARK. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1944. xiii, 319 pages. \$2.50.

"The point to be emphasized, in brief, is that since the Atonement is, by its very nature, a transaction, an event, whatever we prefer to call it, wherein something from *beyond* human experience touches upon and enters *into* human experience, something more than human experience itself must be explored if the key to the transaction or the event is to be found" (p. 1). This the author proceeds to do by taking the standpoint of God and by investigating what the whole problem of Redemption must mean to Him (Chaps. I-III). It is found to be a matter of God's dealing with the sinful movement of the race by means of the life-dynamic which is in Christ, and which is "the veritable creative life of God himself" brought "into the range of man." The death of Christ meant the passing of this life-dynamic. As our agent in redemption he lost God that we might not lose him. By the resurrection Christ regained control over (until then) a lost world and thus is immanent in the eternal order. The world was created by God through Christ whose original plan for man went wrong, and thus the necessity of a second attempt was brought about. A few sentences from page 200 will present the argument: "It was by Christ the Eternal Son that God made the world. It was by the immanence of Christ the Eternal Son that God from the beginning sustained the world and sustains it still. It was by a further immanence of Christ the Eternal Son that God sought to bring humanity into a higher development from its position at the apex of created things, and to lead it into a consciously-accepted union with Himself. And it was by a new immanence of Christ the Eternal Son, offered in the historic Christ of the New Testament when that earlier immanence had failed of its end, that God sought (as He seeks still) to make that union come to pass. Christ is grounded in the eternal order—or rather, as it should more correctly be phrased, the eternal order is grounded in Christ."

The author could profitably have added a chapter on the history of the atonement theory. To those who see Christ as the effective agent of God in all activities related to the world and to man the book will bring added support, but to those who see Jesus as man the argument is scarcely compelling.

University of Chicago.

Mervin M. Deems.

### CHURCH HISTORY IN THE LIGHT OF THE SAINTS

By JOSEPH A. DUNNEY. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1944. viii, 465 pages. \$2.75.

The teacher of Church History must often reflect how much better it

would be if he felt free to organize his subject around the inner religious forces to which the Church owes her vitality rather than with reference to the outer forces which have beaten upon her. Here is a church history in which, as the title indicates, the effort has been made to do this. The "Saint of the Century" is the central topic of nineteen chapters, the last two being devoted to a woman and a priest who represented Catholic sanctity in the New World (Rose of Lima and Isaac Jogues). Prominent figures like Justin Martyr for the second century and Bernard for the twelfth alternate with others who moved less conspicuously on the public stage. The interweaving of the main course of events with lives like those of Bernard of Menthon in the tenth century and John Baptist de la Salle in the seventeenth produces some chapters even more interesting than those where a more obvious hero or heroine was chosen. The only chapter where the principle of construction seems to fail is that which tries to relate the eighteenth century to the devout but obscure J. B. de Rossi.

Father Dunney's book is written in an attractive style, perhaps at times too chatty. He has used good sources; but one must add with regret that he has used them with almost inexcusable carelessness. One never expected to read in print that Frederick the Great's father was Peter the Great, or that Bernard of Menthon founded the Augustinian Canons (p. 206). Generalizations are equally careless, or are reduced to the useless vagueness that goodness was then, as at all times, in conflict with badness. One cannot criticize the author for writing from the viewpoint of his own Church, though even that would scarcely justify his uniform depreciation of Byzantine Christianity—after all, Cyril and Methodius are canonized saints too. But one must regret that a book which in many ways deserves popularity did not carry out its excellent idea more successfully.

Berkeley Divinity School

E. R. Hardy, Jr.

#### THE BIOGRAPHY OF A CATHEDRAL

By ROBERT GORDON ANDERSON. New York: Longmans, Green and Co., 1945. 496 pages. \$4.00.

The cathedral is Notre Dame of Paris, on Ile St.-Louis, one of the great churches of Gothic France and, indeed, of all Christendom. We name it admiringly with the cathedrals of Rheims and Chartres and Amiens as one of the supreme architectural achievements of Gothic builders in Ile de France during "the greatest of centuries." Such a cathedral deserves to have an eminently well-written and well-illustrated biography. The production here reviewed is neither well illustrated—it has a frontispiece only—nor is it well and truly written.

Nor is it, in fact, the life-story of Our Lady of Paris. Rather it is a series of rhetorical encomia, written in journalistic style, concerning the remote ancestry and the pre-natal existence of Notre Dame. The story here recorded starts in the first century B. C. and ends in 1239 A. D. when Louis IX of France dedicated relics of the Passion at the high altar of Our Lady of Paris. At that time the original plan for the cathedral was at near completion. Nevertheless, distinguishing features of the great church,

external and internal, were yet to be created. These included the charming periphery of outside chapels and the projecting transeptal bays. Not until the beginning of the next century did the cathedral approximately assume the form that we know today. Ahead were seven centuries of stirring national, ecclesiastical, and architectural history—the actual life-story of Notre Dame. After spending 470 packed pages elaborating the prolonged genesis of the church, from Druid altar to Christian high altar, the author whizzes through these seven centuries at the rate of a century per page.

Grotesque malproportion is not the most serious criticism of this book. Fundamental is the circumstance that the author just does not know what history is. Myth and tradition and legend have equal validity in his estimation with the best authenticated and most concretely documented facts in human experience. Moreover, on the factual side he is master of endless misinformation regarding the social and religious life of men during the centuries before Notre Dame came into being. Not in a long time has the reviewer read more vivid and voluble misrepresentations of history than he has found on these pages of Hollywoodish melodrama.

The biography of a great cathedral can be written at once accurately and inspiringly. Henry Adams demonstrated how it can be done in his classic study of Mont-Saint-Michel and Chartres. It is greatly to be hoped that the real biography of Notre Dame de Paris may yet be written.

The University of Chicago.

Harold R. Willoughby.

#### THE LEVELLER TRACTS, 1647-1653

Edited by WILLIAM HALLER and GODFREY DAVIES. New York: Columbia University Press, 1944. vi, 481 pages. \$6.50.

#### LEVELLER MANIFESTOES OF THE PURITAN REVOLUTION

Edited by DON M. WOLFE. New York: Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1944. xiv, 440 pages. \$5.00.

These two volumes complete the task, begun by William Haller with his *Tracts on Liberty in the Puritan Revolution, 1638-1647* and continued by A. S. P. Woodhouse in his new edition of the *Army Debates (Puritanism and Liberty)*, of making available the more important publications of the Leveller movement. Together they provide much of the necessary documentary apparatus for the rapidly expanding literature devoted to the ideas and activities of these seventeenth century democrats.

It is a curious coincidence that two volumes of Leveller documents, prepared independently, should appear at the same time. This coincidence, however, is indicative of the increasing importance for the development of modern democratic ideas that is being assigned to John Lilburne and his coterie of radical political agitators. In view of the fact that the editors had the same general purpose in mind, it is rather remarkable that there is so little over-lapping in the selection of material. One would expect considerable duplication, but this has not occurred. Only four of the thirty-five reprints in the two volumes are identical.

The historical introductions provided by the editors also serve to supplement each other. Wolfe provides a useful and detailed account of the progress of the Leveller agitation. Haller and Davies, on the other hand, give less attention to the details of the contemporary controversy but make a brilliant survey and analysis of Leveller thought and activity in relationship to the general political and religious climate of the seventeenth century. On certain points the editors disagree. Wolfe, for example, emphasizes Lilburne's early antagonism to the Common Law (p. 7), whereas Haller and Davies point out that in Lilburne's mature thought the Common Law served as the capstone for his philosophy of law and provides the explanation for his predilection for brawling (pp. 43-47). Wolfe tends to discount the perspicacity of the Leveller leaders (p. 51), whereas Haller and Davies tend to magnify their practical political insight and wisdom (pp. 35, 50).

The editors of both volumes make much of the fact that the Leveller movement was secular and not religious in character. They speak of the "secular philosophy" of the leaders and of the "secular Reformation" the Levellers were seeking to achieve. It is rather difficult to discover the basis for this characterization, for Lilburne's agitators were religious men, "animated by religious convictions." If one equates Calvinism with religion, they were secular. They were opposed to government by the "elect" of God and advocated government by the elected representatives of the people. If one equates clericalism with religion, again they were secular. They were vigorous in their denunciation of the clergy, but so were many of the dissenting religious groups. If to be religious, one must argue in political controversy solely from theological concepts rather than from constitutional principles, not more than a few of the political theorists of the fifteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth centuries can be considered religious. The ultimate consequences of the Leveller proposals may have been secular in character, but this can scarcely be considered an anticipated result.

A second minor misinterpretation to be found in both introductions is the conception that Winstanley and the Diggers embarked on a program of economic reform and summoned men to reconstruct society after a communist pattern. Winstanley was an apocalypticist; God not man was to usher in the new society. The "digging" at St. George's Hill in Surrey was not an economic experiment, nor an attempt to make a small beginning toward achieving a communistic goal. It was simply the proclamation, by a dramatic act, of that which Winstanley had already proclaimed by words and writings, a "sign" that God was about to accomplish the desired end.

University of Chicago.

Winthrop S. Hudson.

#### THOMAS TRAHERNE

By GLADYS I. WADE. Princeton, New Jersey; Princeton University Press, 1944. 269 pages, \$3.00.

Thomas Traherne (1638-1674) was the son of a Hereford shoemaker, educated at Oxford, who became first a country parson and then private chaplain to Sir Orlando Bridgeman, Lord Keeper of Seal under Charles II. Like most of his contemporaries, Traherne was beset with spiritual

problems. Early in life he experienced the disillusionment and skepticism that was characteristic of the Seekers. He then became something of a Puritan mystic. At the end of his brief career, having outgrown his Puritanism while retaining his mysticism, he was in the camp of the Cambridge Platonists.

Traherne's chief claim to immortality rests upon the hauntingly beautiful literary quality of his devotional poems and meditations. Many of these remained unpublished, some were published anonymously, and some were attributed to others. The discovery of these materials and the identification of Traherne as their author is an exciting story of literary detection, carried forward since 1895 by several persons, including Miss Wade, who published *The Poetical Works of Thomas Traherne* in 1932.

His poems having been recovered, Traherne himself remained "at best only a disembodied voice, coming thinly across the centuries." It is the purpose of Miss Wade in the present volume to ferret out the biographical facts of his life and to recreate the man who tramped the "muddy lanes of Herefordshire and the cobbled streets of Restoration London." This she does remarkably well by detective work that is as diligent and careful as was that involved in identifying the manuscripts. If the biographical reconstruction seems somewhat thin and tenuous at times, it has the virtue of plausibility.

In addition to his devotional writings, Traherne was the author of a controversial piece entitled *Roman Forgeries*, and a treatise on conduct entitled *Christian Ethicks*. The latter attempts to bring the implications of the author's mysticism to bear upon the practical problems of daily life, while the former defends the English Church by exposing spurious papal claims.

One result of this study should be to further enlarge the small but growing circle of devout Traherne "enthusiasts."

Divinity School, University of Chicago.

Winthrop S. Hudson.

### BYWAYS IN QUAKER HISTORY

A COLLECTION OF HISTORICAL ESSAYS

BY COLLEAGUES AND FRIENDS OF WILLIAM I. HULL

Edited by HOWARD H. BRINTON. Wallingford, Pa.: Pendle Hill, 1944.  
246 pages.

This *Festschrift* in honor of the well-known historian of Quakerism, who died in 1939, contains thirteen essays, as follows: "William I. Hull, a Biographical Sketch," by Janet Whitney; "Whittier's Fundamental Religious Faith," by Rufus M. Jones; "Whittier as Historian of Quakerism," by Henry J. Cadbury; "John G. Whittier, the Quaker Politician," by C. Marshall Taylor; "The Career of Elias Hicks," by D. Elton Trueblood; "French and German Friends in the Early Nineteenth Century," by William Wistar Comfort; "Elihu Codeman, Quaker Anti-Slavery Pioneer of Nantucket," by Thomas E. Drake; "James Logan and Stenton," by Charles F. Jenkins; "Early Thought on the Inner Light," by Brand Blanshard; "Quakers Then and Now," by George A. Walton, "The Quakers in Lon-



don and their Printers There," by Charles M. Andrews; "Dreams of the Quaker Journalist," by Howard H. Brinton; "George Fox as a Man," by Frank Aydelotte.

As one would expect in a work of this type the essays are of varying length and quality. The biographical sketch is a forthright portrait of Hull, the scholar and proponent of international peace. The three essays on Whittier help to give the Quaker poet his true place in American history. It is interesting to observe that Whittier was one of the founders of the Liberty Party and that Horace Bushnell was a major influence in the formation of his religious ideas. The most stimulating essay in the group is that of Blanshard who shows that the early Quakers differentiated sharply between the Inner Light and reason, the latter definitely inferior to the former, whereas the modern Quaker is inclined to identify revelation and the Inner Light with intelligence and reason. Walton's essay gives a brief review of well-known facts concerning Pennsylvania Quakerism in the eighteenth century. Brinton's essay sets forth the importance of dreams as agencies of the Inner Light in revealing God's will to the early Quakers. The tabulated list of books by William I. Hull on page 242 is an impressive one, containing fifteen titles in fifty years, 1891 to 1941.

Goshen College, Goshen, Ind.

Guy F. Hershberger.

#### A SOCIAL HISTORY OF THE PHILADELPHIA BAPTIST ASSOCIATION

By ROBERT G. TORBET. Philadelphia: The Westbrook Publishing Co., 1944. 243 pages. \$3.00.

The minutes of Baptist district associations provide one of the most trustworthy sources for Baptist history. The local churches are represented directly by their duly elected delegates at these association meetings and thus the problems and interests of the people are discussed and their decisions recorded. In earlier days, if not at the present date, lay men and women were present in larger numbers than the ministers.

Mr. Torbet has thus done well in publishing some of the subjects occupying the concern and discussion of the Philadelphia Baptist Association which is the oldest in America. Organized in 1707, its extent was almost colonial-wide, though its greatest strength lay in the North, especially in Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and New York. This Association thus witnessed the development of the American spirit within the colonies and was actively engaged in all those interests which develop into the American Revolution with its constitutional safe-guards of religious liberty. Within the national period this Association, with its large Baptist center in Philadelphia, has also played a prominent part not alone in Baptist affairs but also in the larger religious concerns of the country.

These religious or social interests the author has wisely divided into two sections, Part One, prior to the Civil War, and Part Two, the period since the sixties. From the founding of the Nation until the War slavery, as the chief disturbing question, colored all others. When that was settled other questions, growing in magnitude as the nation itself grew, occupied

the attention of the citizens and the members of the churches of this old Baptist Association.

The issues of the pre-Civil War period were the struggle for religious liberty, education, and against liquor, the Roman Catholic "menace," and slavery. Most of these are also considered in the later period, with the additional national questions arising out of the new political situations of the western states and the large cities, and the pressing international relationships of the late nineteenth and the early twentieth centuries.

Mr. Torbet has made good use of his sources of the Association minutes and the Baptist publications of the periods surveyed. He has, however, allowed himself to be carried far afield from a specific study of the Association to that of the denomination at large. Indeed the title of the book might well be *A Social History of American Baptists, 1707-1940*.

It must be stated that altogether too many errors appear in the text. The first sentence of the first chapter gives the date for the rebaptism of the English Separatist refugees in Amsterdam as 1611 instead of 1608. At times a faithful adherence to secondary material leads the author into the error of misplacement of dates and incorrect quotations of the originals which were accessible to him. This is especially true when he is considering the differences of opinion expressed between North and South in the Mission Societies of a century ago. Again, works of certain authors are paraphrased without adequate acknowledgment being given. The personal comments of certain more or less prominent Baptists are given equal value with published statements, which is not worthy a work of standard research.

Other mistakes occur. On page 75 the date for the erection of the present main building of Crozer Theological Seminary as a normal school is given as 1855 instead of 1858. The date for the establishment of the Seminary is 1868 rather than 1867. The statement is also made that the Seminary was founded under "the aegis of the Philadelphia Association" whereas it has always been a private institution. The founder, John P. Crozer, never was "a prominent Philadelphia business man."

On page 14, Dr. Robert T. Tumbelston's name is spelled incorrectly. Page 72, footnote, Frank C. Lewis, should be Frank Grant Lewis. Page 75, footnote, Chapter VIII should be Chapter IX. On page 27 reference to the relationship between Adoniram Judson and Luther Rice is misleading, owing, evidently to a lack of complete information.

It is regrettable that these and other errors and weaknesses occur, robbing this study of entire dependability.

Crozer Theological Seminary.

R. E. E. Harkness.

#### VLADIMIR SOLOVEV'S LECTURES ON GODMANHOOD

By PETER P. ZOUBOFF, transl. and ed. New York: International University Press, 1944. 233 pages. \$3.75.

The treatise of Solovev translated by Mr. Zouboff is perhaps the most important of his theological works and deals with the central concept

of salvation through Incarnation. Besides, Solovev incorporates into the discussion his wellknown concept of the divine Sophia, which is perhaps the most remarkable feature of his theological thinking. As such it is a welcome addition to the growing body of literature dealing with the thought of the outstanding Russian religious philosopher.

The translator prefaces the work itself with an extended historical Introduction, comprising not only an excellent biographical sketch of Solovev, in which he utilizes the latest monograph on the subject prepared by Mochulsky, but also an illuminating exposition of the place of theanthropy in this author's philosophical system. Mr. Zouboff shows himself thoroughly conversant with his subject and the commentary he provides is most helpful. Nevertheless, he does not seem to have gone beyond a convenient summary of the existing Russian literature on this subject, without attempting to express a critical view of his own.

The translation itself is well done. But it is to be regretted that the proof reading of the work was not carried out with the care which the intrinsic value of the work deserves.

Hartford Theological Seminary.

Matthew Spinka.

#### THE POPE'S NEW ORDER

By PHILIP HUGHES. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1944. 331 pages. \$2.50.

Protected by *nihil obstat* and *imprimatur*, this "systematic summary of the social encyclicals and addresses from Leo XIII to Pius XII" should be made a textbook in all American Protestant Church History classes. For neglecting a study of this segment of Catholicism, the twentieth century is paying heavily. Here are examined eight very modern problems: "the fundamental causes of world unrest, some erroneous solutions, the state and its powers, the Catholic attitude to the modern state, family life, the basis of national well-being, ideals in education, the capitalist system and the worker, and the international problem."

The index is one of the best we have observed in the last decade. Why argue over what Catholic teaching is on a particular point when five minutes consultation of the index will provide the quotations desired? Moreover, the historical introductions and general analysis are well done.

Let us resort to sampling. "Secular education is directly opposed to our Lord's commands, an evidence of the State's apostasy from God, the cause of growing atheism, part of plan to paralyze Christian activity and condemned as irreligious." "Religious education is a fundamental need for which Catholics must fight." "The 'mixed' or 'single' school system condemned." "The hierarchy is a necessary fact of social life." "Human inequality not in itself wrong or bad." "Financial internationalism is a grave menace." "State has certain rights in marriage but no claim to control."

What do the popes think of the American way of life? In summary, the encyclicals answer: "Which religion should the State profess? Cathol-

icism, says the pope, because that alone is true," p. 116. What about the four liberties insisted upon by men since 1789, liberty of worship, liberty of speech and of the press, liberty of teaching, liberty of conscience? Denied! "If by liberty of conscience is meant that each may, as he chooses, worship God or not, this obviously cannot be right," pp. 115-118. "It is quite unlawful to demand, defend, or grant unconditional freedom of thought, speech, writing or worship, as if these were so many rights given by Nature to man," p. 121. "It is not of itself wrong to prefer a democratic form of government, if only the Catholic doctrine be mentioned as to the origin and exercise of power," p. 121. Highly-placed Catholics had attempted "to maintain that Catholics and democracy are incompatible," but Leo XIII denied this in 1901, p. 226. But as to approving the American democracy—he criticized "the theory that society arises from the common consent of its members," p. 79; and as entirely wrong "the principle that what the majority decides is right," p. 116f.

Many American Catholics do not accept the teaching of the papal encyclicals as infallible. And their interpretation by competent Catholic scholars is very variable. The pope observed in 1931 that "no one can be at the same time a sincere Catholic and a Socialist properly so-called," p. 245, but Mary Dixon Thayer writes: "A Catholic is completely free to hold that the Pope may err in his purely human judgments of such matters and to differ from him accordingly . . . As a Roman Catholic I voted for Norman Thomas in the last election." *The World Tomorrow*, Jan. 18, 1934, p. 36.

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Conrad H. Moehlman.

## A LIST OF ARTICLES DEALING WITH THE FIELD OF CHURCH HISTORY

Compiled by James H. Nichols.

### METHOD

- Shirley Jackson Case, "Historical Study of Christian Doctrine," *Illiff Review* (Winter, 1945), 146-153.  
Virginia Corwin, "Teaching the History of Christian Thought," *Journal of Bible and Religion* (February 1945), 28-32.  
John T. McNeill, "What Is the Value of the Study of Church History for the Minister?" *Anglican Theological Review*, (January, 1945), 41-48.

### ANCIENT

- Dominic Unger, O. F. M. Cap., "Christ's Role in the Universe according to St. Irenaeus," *Franciscan Studies* (March, 1945), 3-20.  
Morton S. Enslin, "The Pontic Mouse" [Marcion], *Anglican Theological Review*, (January, 1945), 1-16.

- S. L. Greenslade, "The Illyrian Churches and the Vicariate of Thessalonica 378-95," *The Journal of Theological Studies*, (January-April, 1945), 17-30.
- Clarence McAuliffe, S. J., "Absolution in the Early Church. The View of St. Pacianus," *Theological Studies* (March, 1945), 51-61.
- Stanislaus J. Grabowski, "The Holy Ghost in the Mystical Body of Christ According to St. Augustine," Part II. *Theological Studies* (March, 1945), 62-84.
- Lawrence F. Jansen, "The Divine Ideas, in the Writings of St. Augustine," *The Modern Schoolman* (March, 1945), 117-131.
- Rev. John P. Maher, O. S. A., "St. Augustine's Defense of the Hexaemeron," *Catholic Biblical Quarterly* (April, 1945), 206-222.
- Terenig Poladian, Translator, and Arthur Jeffery, Foreword, "Gregory of Tathev Against the Manichees," *Review of Religion* (March, 1945), 242-253.

## MEDIEVAL

- Stephen D. Sturton, O. B. E., "The Site of the Nestorian Monastery at Hangchow," *The Asiatic Review* (January, 1945), 82-85.
- Marion A. Habig, O. F. M., "Marignolli and the Decline of Medieval Missions in China," *Franciscan Studies* (March, 1945), 21-36.
- Karl W. Deutsch, "Anti-Semitic Ideas in the Middle Ages: International Civilizations in Expansion and Conflict," *Journal of the History of Ideas* (April, 1945), 239-251.
- S. Kuttner and Miss Beryl Smalley, "The 'Glossa Ordinaria' to the Gregorian Decretals," *English Historical Review* (January, 1945), 97-105.
- A. G. Little, "Personal Tithes," *English Historical Review* (January, 1945), 67-87.
- N. Denholm-Young, "A Letter from the Council to Pope Honorius III, 1220-1," *English Historical Review* (January, 1945), 88-96.
- H. Rothwell, "The Confirmation of the Charters," *English Historical Review* (January, 1945), 16-35.
- Helena M. Chew, "Mortmain in Medieval London," *English Historical Review* (January, 1945), 1-15.
- Philotheus Boehner, O. F. M., "In Propria Causa: A Reply to Professor Pegis' Concerning William of Ockham (*Traditio* II, 1944, 465-80)," *Franciscan Studies* (March, 1945), 37-54.
- Anton-Hermann Chroust, "A Contribution to the Medieval Discussion: *Utrum Aristoteles sit Salvatus*," *Journal of the History of Ideas* (April, 1945), 231-238.
- Oscar Sherwin, "Art's Spring-Birth: The Ballad of *Iacob and Iosep*," *Studies in Philology* (January, 1945), 1-18.
- Marcel Francon, "Un Symbole de l'Eglise Catholique: Luna," *Publication of the Modern Language Association* (March, 1945), 59-65.
- Gilbert Wdzieczny, O. F. M. Conv., "The Life and Works of Thomas of Celano," *Franciscan Studies* (March, 1945), 55-68.
- Rev. Joseph D. Gauthier, S. J., "Sancte Pagninus O. P.," *Catholic Biblical Quarterly*, (April, 1945), 175-190.



- Theodore C. Petersen, "Johannes Sintram de Herbipli in Two of His MSS.," *Speculum* (January, 1945), 73-83.
- Walter Ullmann, "A Medieval Philosophy of Law," *The Catholic Historical Review*, (April, 1945), 1-30.
- Sister Mary Vincent Hillmann, "Some Debatable Words in *Pearl* and Its Theme," *Modern Language Notes* (April, 1945), 241-8.
- Carl F. Bayerschmidt, "Johannes Veghe, A Low German Preacher of the Fifteenth Century," *The Germanic Review* (February, 1945), 3-20.
- Robert P. Adams, "Designs by More and Erasmus for a New Social Order," *Studies in Philology* (April, 1945), 131-145.
- Franklin LeVan Baumer, "The Conception of Christendom in Renaissance England," *Journal of the History of Ideas* (April, 1945), 131-156.
- Hardin Craig and other editors, "Recent Literature of the Renaissance: A Bibliography and Index," *Studies in Philology* (April, 1945), 269-365.

#### REFORMATION AND MODERN EUROPEAN

- George W. Forell, "Luther's Conception of 'Natural Orders'," *Lutheran Church Quarterly*, (April, 1945), 160-177.
- Donovan E. Smucker, "The Theological Triumph of the Early Anabaptist Mennonites: The Re-discovery of Biblical Theology in Paradox," *The Mennonite Quarterly Review* (January, 1945), 5-26.
- Robert Friedmann, "Reason and Obedience. An Old Anabaptist Letter of Peter Walpot (1571) and its Meaning," *The Mennonite Quarterly Review* (January, 1945), 27-40.
- Arnold Williams, "The Motivation of Satan's Rebellion in *Paradise Lost*," *Studies in Philology* (April, 1945), 253-68.
- E. L. Marilla, "The Religious Conversion of Henry Vaughan," *Review of English Studies* (January, 1945), 15-22.
- Aubrey Gwynn, S. J., "John Lynch's *De Praesulibus Hiberniae*," *Studies* (March, 1945), 37-52.
- L. W. Spitz, "Veit Ludwig von Seckendorf and the *Historia Lutheranismi*," *Journal of Religion* (January, 1945), 33-49.
- A. E. Taylor, "St. John of the Cross and John Wesley," *The Journal of Theological Studies* (January-April, 1945), 30-38.
- Maldwyn Edwards, "Jabez Bunting: A Revised Estimate," *London Quarterly & Holborn Review* (January, 1945), 4-8.
- Gustav E. Mueller, "Pascal's Dialectical Philosophy and his Discovery of Liberalism," *Journal of the History of Ideas* (January, 1945), 67-80.
- Robert A. Kann, "Wolfgang Menzel: Pioneer of Integral Nationalism," *Journal of the History of Ideas* (April, 1945), 213-230.
- Alvan S. Ryan, "The Development of Newman's Political Thought," *The Review of Politics*, (April, 1945), 210-240.
- Jean-Charles Laframboise, O. M. I., "La doctrine spirituelle de Newman," *Revue de L'Université d'Ottawa* (January-March, 1945), 48-76.
- Rodrique Normandin, O.M.I., "Un newmaniste français, Henri Bremond," *Revue de L'Université d'Ottawa* (April-June, 1945), 157-179.
- Clement J. McNaspy, S. J., "The Shroud of Turin," *Catholic Biblical Quarterly* (April, 1945), 144-164.

- Malcolm Moos, "Don Luigi Sturzo—Christian Democrat," *American Political Science Review* (April, 1945), 269-292.
- Eugene Guerster-Steinhausen, "The Prophet of German Nihilism—Ernst Juenger," *Review of Politics* (April, 1945), 199-209.
- Luigi Sturzo, "The Vatican's Position in Europe," *Foreign Affairs* (January, 1945), 211-221.
- Carol J. Bang, "Kaj Munk's Autobiography," *American Scandinavian Review* (Spring, 1945), 45-50.
- Feliks Gross (editor), "Philosophies Underlying European Nationalist Groups," *Journal of Educational Sociology* (April, 1945), 449-511.

## AMERICAN

- Peter M. Dunne, "The Jesuit Archives at Buenos Aires," *Mid-America, An Historical Review* (January, 1945), 54-57.
- Jean Delanglez, "Marquette's Autograph Map of the Mississippi River," *Mid-America, An Historical Review* (January, 1945), 30-53.
- Jean Delanglez, "Louis Jolliet—Early Years: 1645-1674," *Mid-America, An Historical Review* (January, 1945), 3-29.
- George Carrington Mason, "The Colonial Churches of Essex and Richmond Counties," *The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* (January, 1945), 3-20.
- Frank J. Klingberg, "Religious Society on the Delaware in 1708 as seen by Thomas Jenkins," *Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church* (March, 1945), 66-73.
- T. W. Moody, "Ulster Scots in Colonial America" (to be continued), *Studies* (March, 1945), 85-94.
- Samuel Clyde McCullough, "Dr. Thomas Bray's Trip to Maryland: A Study in Militant Anglican Humanitarianism," *William and Mary Quarterly* (January, 1945), 15-32.
- Frederick B. Tolles, "Quietism Versus Enthusiasm. The Philadelphia Quakers and the Great Awakening," *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* (January, 1945), 27-49.
- Robert G. Walker, "Jonathan Boucher: Champion of the Minority," *William and Mary Quarterly* (January, 1945), 3-14.
- Sister Eugene Marie, I.H.M., "The Quebec Act Leads to Catholic Emancipation in English-Speaking Countries," (continued from December, 1944), *Records of the American Catholic Historical Society of Philadelphia*, 26-35.
- Marion Sharp, "Leadership and Democracy in the Early New England System of Defense," *American Historical Review* (January, 1945), 244-260.
- Charles H. Metzger, "Chaplains in the American Revolution," *The Catholic Historical Review* (April, 1945), 31-79.
- William Warren Sweet, "Natural Religion and Religious Liberty in America," *Journal of Religion* (January, 1945), 45-55.
- J. Herman Schauinger, "The Domestic Life of William Gaston, Catholic Jurist," *Catholic Historical Review* (January, 1945), 394-426.
- Arthur Adams, "The Founding of Trinity College," *Historical Magazine*

- of the Protestant Episcopal Church (March, 1945), 53-65.
- Joseph J. Kwiat, "Thoreau's Philosophical Apprenticeship," *New England Quarterly* (March, 1945), 51-69.
- Russel B. Nye, "Civil Liberties and the Anti-slavery Controversy," *Science and Society* (Spring, 1945), 125-146.
- Oscar Sherwin, "The Armory of God," [Abolitionism] *New England Quarterly* (March, 1945), 70-82.
- J. Orin Oliphant, "A Philadelphia Editor Looks at Latin America," *Pennsylvania History* (April, 1945), 115-146.
- Albert Parry, "Prince Golitsyn: Apostle of the Alleghenies," *The Russian Review*, (Spring, 1945), 18-37.
- Henri Morisseau, O.M.I., "Les Oblats dans les chantiers," *Revue de l'Université d'Ottawa* (April-June, 1945), 198-216.
- George Edward Levy, "Milestones in the History of Maritime Baptists," *The Chronicle. A Baptist Historical Quarterly* (April, 1945), 77-93.
- R. J. Frese, S. J., "Notes on 'United States Catholic Miscellany,'" (Cont. from December, 1944), *Records of the American Catholic Historical Society of Philadelphia* (March, 1945), 54-66.
- Sister Mary Theodora, C.S.M., "The Foundation of the Sisterhood of St. Mary," *Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church* (March, 1945), 38-52.
- Elizabeth F. Hoxie, "Harriet Livermore: 'Vixen and Devotee,'" *New England Quarterly* (March, 1945), 39-50.
- John Umble, "Extinct Ohio Mennonite Churches. V. The Churches in Ashland County. I.," *The Mennonite Quarterly Review* (January, 1945), 41-61.
- C. A. Boyd, "Baptist Beginnings in Illinois," (cont.), *The Chronicle. A Baptist Historical Quarterly* (April, 1945), 64-76.
- H. S. Nedry, "The Friends Come to Oregon: III Washington Work," *Oregon Historical Quarterly* (March, 1945), 36-43.
- Thomas F. O'Connor, "A Major Contribution to the History of the American Church" [review of *Hist. of Archdiocese of Boston* 3 v.] *Catholic Historical Review* (January, 1945), 427-49.
- Herbert W. Schneider, "Evolution and Theology in America," *Journal of the History of Ideas* (January, 1945), 1-18.
- Albert William Levi, "Edward Bellamy: Utopian," *Ethics* (January, 1945), 131-144.
- Edward N. West, "History and Development of Music in the American Church," *Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church* (March, 1945), 15-37.
- John K. Cartwright, "The American Catholic Historical Association: A Survey of 25 Years," *Catholic Historical Review* (January, 1945), 382-393.
- Arnold D. Ehlert, "A Bibliography of Dispensationalism" (cont. from October-December, 1944), *Bibliotheca Sacra* (January-March, 1945), 84-92.

A LIST OF CHURCH HISTORY BOOKS  
RECENTLY PUBLISHED

Some of these titles may be reviewed later.

- Clarke, W. U. Lowther: *Eighteenth Century Piety*.  
London: S. P. C. K., 1944. 10/6.
- Elliott-Binns, L. E.: *Story of England's Church*.  
London: S. P. C. K., 1945. 3/6.
- Foster, J., *World Church*.  
Toronto: Macmillan, 1945. \$2.00.
- 'T Hooft, W. A. Visser: *The Struggle of the Dutch Church*.  
New York: The World Council of Churches. 25 cents.
- Knox, W. T.: *Some Hellenistic Elements in Primitive Christianity*.  
New York: Oxford University Press, 1945. \$2.75.
- Koek, Kees van: *Pope Pius XII*.  
New York: Philosophical Library, 1945. \$2.00.
- Krzesiński, A. J.: *National Cultures, Nazism and the Church*.  
Boston: Humphries, 1945. \$1.75.
- Pegis, Anton C., ed.: *Basic Writings of St. Thomas Aquinas*. 2 vols.  
New York: Random House, 1945. \$7.50.
- Rogers, Patrick: *Father Theobald Mathew*.  
New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1945. \$2.50.
- Sargent, Daniel: *Mitri: the Story of Prince Gallitzin*.  
New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1945. \$3.00.
- Watkin, E. T.: *Catholic Art and Culture*.  
New York: Sheed & Ward, 1944. \$4.50.
- Woodgate, M. V.: *Jacqueline Pascal and her Brother*.  
London: Browne & Nolan, Ltd., 1944. 7/6.

## AMONG THE MEMBERS

EDITED BY WINTHROP S. HUDSON

- CHARLES A. ANDERSON, former president of Coe College in Iowa, has succeeded Thomas C. Pears, Jr. as manager and secretary of the Presbyterian Historical Society, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.
- THOMAS E. DRAKE, curator of the Quaker Collection of Haverford College, has been appointed editor of the *Bulletin* of the Friends Historical Association.
- WILLIS F. DUNBAR, professor of history at Kalamazoo College, has been serving as program director for two Michigan broadcasting stations during the past year.
- GEORGE W. FORELL has an article, "Luther's Conception of 'Natural Order'," in the April 1945 issue of *The Lutheran Church Quarterly*.
- ROBERT GRANT, instructor in New Testament Language and Interpretation, University of the South, Sewanee, Tennessee, was visiting professor of New Testament in the Divinity School of the University of Chicago during the summer quarter.
- ARTHUR A. HAYS, professor of church history in McCormick Theological Seminary, Chicago, retired at the end of the 1944-45 academic year. Arnold Nash has been appointed to succeed him. Mr. Nash is the first Anglican to be appointed to the faculty of the institution.
- C. HOWARD HOPKINS, formerly chairman of the division of social science in Stockton Junior College, Stockton, California, is now associate professor of church history at Bangor Theological Seminary, Bangor, Maine.
- CHARLES W. KEGLEY, director of religious activities at Northwestern University, has been appointed to the faculty of the United Lutheran Theological Seminary, Maywood, Illinois.
- CONRAD H. MOEHLMAN, following his retirement as professor of the history of Christianity at the Colgate-Rochester Divinity School has been teaching courses in religion at the University of Rochester.
- BENJAMIN N. NELSON has been granted a fellowship by the Guggenheim Foundation to study the relations between conscience and casuistry in the later Middle Ages. Mr. Nelson writes: "This Fall should see publication of my monograph entitled, *The Idea of Usury, from Tribal Brotherhood to Universal Otherhood*. It is to appear at the Princeton University Press as the second in the new series sponsored by the *Journal of the History of Ideas*. My dissertation at Columbia University on *The Restitution of Usury in Later Medieval Ecclesiastical Law* should also be appearing this year. A study of mine, done in collaboration with Dr. Joshua Starr, entitled, 'The Legend of the Divine Surety and the Jewish Moneylender' was recently printed in the *An-*



*naire de l'Institut de philologie et d'histoire orientales et slaves, Tome VII (1939-44)."*

JAMES HASTINGS NICHOLS, instructor in divinity in the Divinity School of the University of Chicago, has been appointed assistant professor of the history of modern European Christianity.

Notices for this department, announcing publication of books, professional articles, and changes of rank and position of members of the Society, should be sent to Winthrop S. Hudson, Faculty Exchange, University of Chicago, Chicago 37, Illinois.

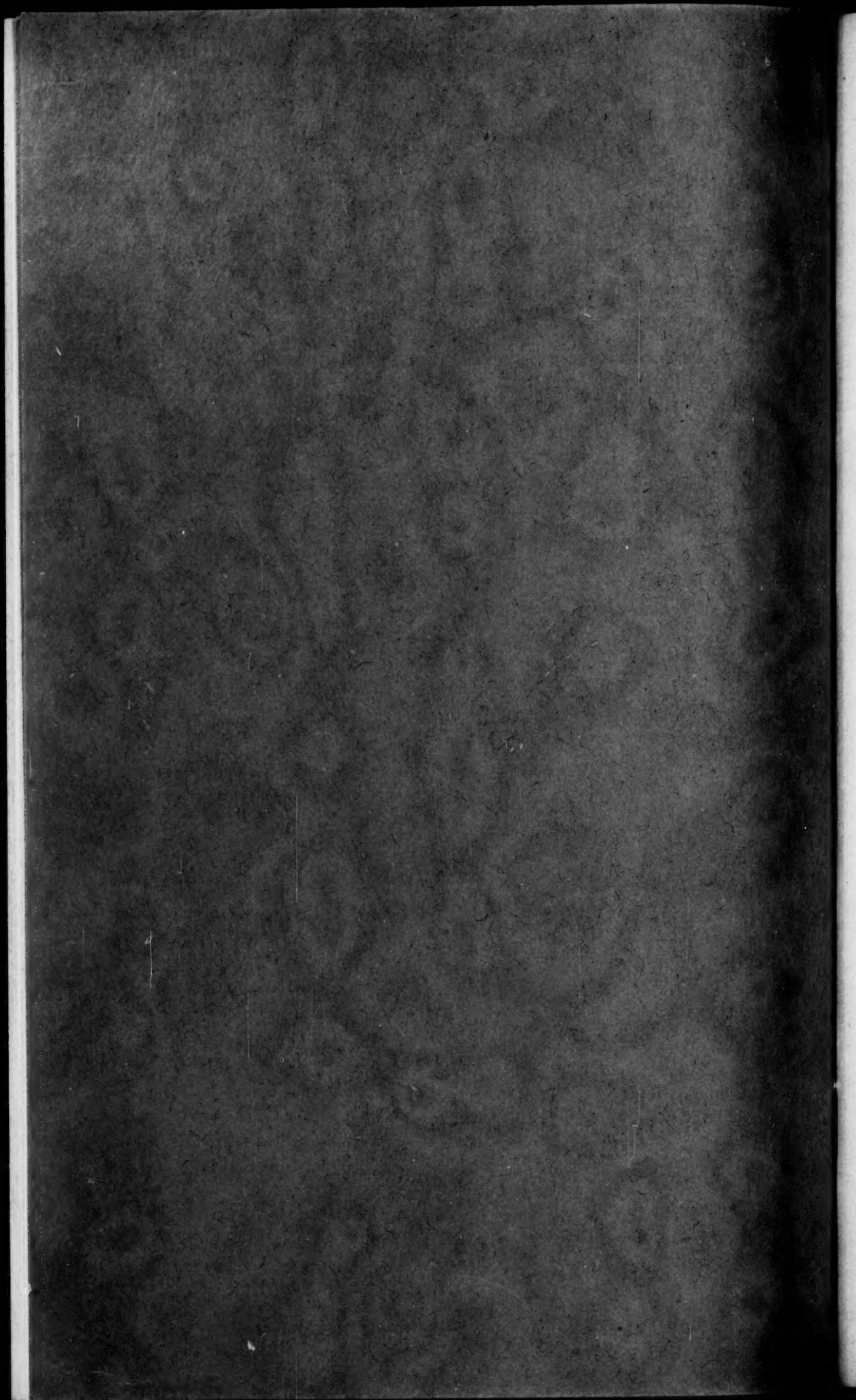


# CHURCH HISTORY

PART 2

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